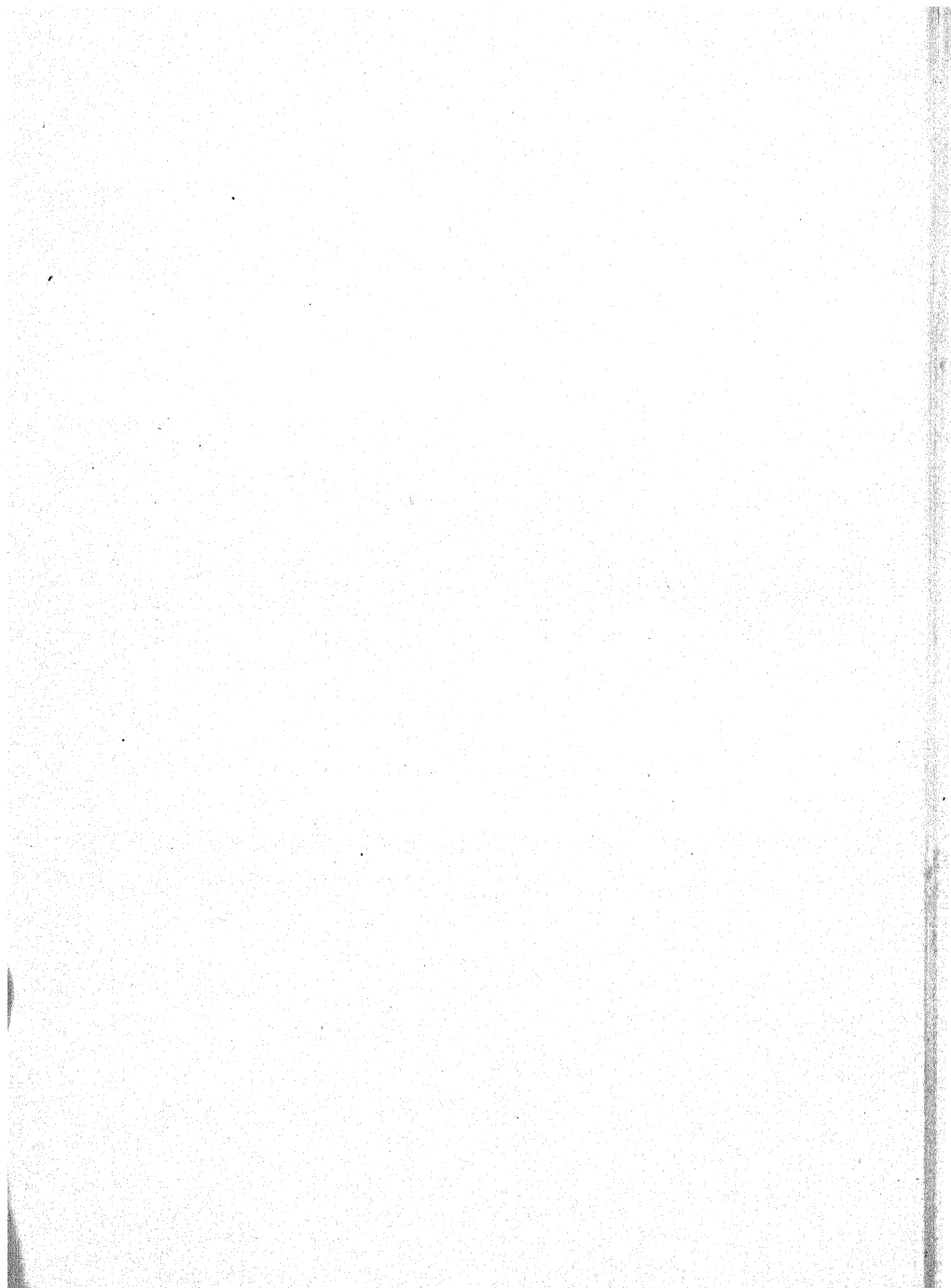


BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI.



BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI

OR

THE HISTORICAL ROMANCE

OF

THE RISE AND CAREER

OF

BUDDHAGHOSA

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

My text of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* is based upon a palm-leaf copy I obtained from the late U. Âsara's monastery at Pazundaung, and is referred to as P. On completing my transcript, I was fortunate in finding a copy in the Shwe Dagon Pagoda Library (referred to as S.D.P.). I have also made use of a MS. belonging to the Bernard Free Library (referred to as B.F.L.). The latter shows a different recension from the other two. Not only do words and constructions in it vary, but there are several (though not very material) interpolations. Strange to say, these three copies seem to be the only ones to be found in the whole of Burma. For the purpose of a critical text, I endeavoured to secure a Sinhalese manuscript, but did not succeed; and my inquiries with regard to Mahâmaṅgala and the time in which he lived have proved somewhat discouraging. The publication of this work may perhaps elicit information which does not seem readily available at present.

In editing the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, I deemed it advisable to put together as much information as possible to be found in Burmese records regarding Buddhaghosa, otherwise I may not have trenched upon a field of inquiry

which has already claimed the attention of able scholars. I have added a few notes which have no pretensions to being exhaustive, but are intended to serve as hints for young students of Pali.

The translation of the Pali text appears separately.

JAMES GRAY.

RANGOON, *February* 1892.

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Buddhaghose patitthante paññavanto pi ye janā
tesaṃ paññāpabbhā natthi Rāhumukheva Candimā.

—*Buddhaghosuppatti.*

INTRODUCTION.

OUTLINES OF THE STORY OF BUDDHAGHOSA.

BUDDHAGHOSA stands out as a grand figure in the annals of Buddhism. The colossal nature of the work accomplished by him as a translator and expounder of Buddha's words, the profound scholarship brought to bear upon that work, and the almost superhuman zeal and self-denial manifested by him to execute it, evoke the highest esteem and admiration on the part of those who have made Pâli literature a study. But that very little should be known of his personal history beyond his literary labours is indeed a matter for regret. The priest Mahâmaṅgala has given a more detailed account of him than any other author, and we have to be thankful to him for the beautiful legend by means of which we gain an insight, or, we may rather say, a kaleidoscopic glimpse, into the life of that great divine. The legend is contained in his *Buddhaghosuppatti*, which is also known as the *Mahâbuddhaghosassa Nidānavatthu*. The narrative is intensely interesting, and one is reluctant to dissociate the legendary fancies from the meagre historical facts which underlie them. It reads, in fact, like an Arthurian romance. I here give an epitome of it.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Two hundred and thirty-six years after the Nirvâṇa of Buddha the therā Mahinda established himself in Ceylon. After his death, Buddhaghosa came into prominence

Not far from the Bodhi-tree there was a village, Ghosa, named so from the circumstance of its being the rendezvous of a large number of cowherds' children. A king ruled at that time in this village. He had a spiritual adviser and secular teacher who was a Brahman, Kesī by name. This Kesī had an accomplished wife. Now, when the Buddhist scriptures were recited in Sinhalese, others did not understand them. A therā, Kesī's friend, who was possessed of supernatural powers, reflected as to who could render the scriptures in Māgadhese if they were recited in Sinhalese. It then dawned upon him that Ghosa, a deva prince, had the necessary qualifications. Thereupon he presented himself before Sakka, king of the devas. Sakka saluted him and asked him why he had come. Having made known his object, both went to Prince Ghosa, who, on hearing the circumstances, said, "I, great king, wish to go to a higher world; existence in the world of men is most painful and vexatious. If, however, the religion of Buddha is not well understood by men, I shall go to the world of men." Having obtained this promise, the therā announced to Kesī that his wife would conceive a son in seven days, who would turn out wise and virtuous. Ghosadevaputta resolved to die, and died, and obtained conception in the womb of Kesībrāhmaṇī. On his birth, ten months after, the dwellers in the village made a great uproar, and he was accordingly called Ghosa. He commenced his studies at the age of seven, and within seven years acquired a knowledge of the three Vedas. One day while instructing the king, Kesī came across a knotty point in the Vedas. Not knowing either the meaning or the drift of the passage, he went home in much perplexity. Young Ghosa, however, solved the difficulty and wrote down the signification of the passage. When Kesī came to find this out, he passed the following encomium: "Though young, you have shown yourself as one who is wise. He who has such a son is exalted; he is the best of men. May you be happy like an immortal.

You be my father, I shall be your son." And when he mentioned about him to the king, the latter embraced him, and said, "Be you my son, I shall be your father."

CHAPTER SECOND.

One day Kesi's friend, the therā, came, as was his habit, to obtain food. While in the middle of the house, one of his Brahman attendants took Ghosa's seat and offered it to him. He sat down on it. This made Ghosa mighty angry. When the therā ended his meal, Ghosa said, "Bald-headed sir, do you know the Vedas, or are you acquainted with any other *manta*?" The therā replied, "I know not only the Vedas, but also another *manta*;" and then rehearsed the three Vedas, after which he washed his mouth with water from his water-pot and sat down. Ghosa, becoming ashamed, asked, "I wish to know your *manta*. Repeat it." Thereupon the therā gave a sketch of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* in relation to meritorious, unmeritorious, and indifferent actions. Ghosa was perplexed, and asked, "What is this *manta*?" On being told it was Buddha's *manta*, he desired to become a *rahan*; but he was repulsed by the therā, who told him that there were great obstacles in the way of unholy laymen. One day, while reflecting on the Vedas point by point, he exclaimed, "Buddha's *manta* is priceless; Buddha's *manta* pleases me. Going to Buddha's *manta*, all sufferings disappear." He then asked his parents to allow him to become a monk. His request was granted. Accordingly his head was shaven and his beard removed, and the "odour of laymanship" dissipated by the use of the perfumed powder of sandal-wood. After submitting to all necessary ceremonies, he was invested with the yellow robe. In one month's time he attained proficiency in the three *Piṭakas*, and displayed such learning that he came to be known as "Buddhaghosa," or "Ghosa the Sage."

CHAPTER THIRD.

One day Buddhaghosa reflected, "Am I or my preceptor more advanced in Buddha's words?" The therā, knowing his mind, said, "Buddhaghosa, your thoughts please me not. If you reflect, you will see that they are not becoming a priest. Beg my pardon." Buddhaghosa, being frightened, replied, "It is my fault. Pardon me." "I shall pardon you," said the therā, "if you go to Ceylon and render Buddha's scriptures into Māgadhese." "I shall do so," replied the other, "but I must first convert my father." When his father saw him approaching, he said, "My son's countenance pleases me. Now my son will become a layman." Buddhaghosa, however, on being questioned about it, remained silent. Afterwards he built a two-roomed house, and placing in it all necessities in the way of food and means for cooking, he shut his father up securely. When Kesī resented, saying, "I am your father. Why do you act thus?" he replied, "True, I am your son; but you are a heretic. You don't believe in Buddha's religion, therefore have I acted so." He then frightened his father with the terrors of hell and recited some beautiful stanzas in praise of Buddha's virtues. On the fourth day of his confinement Kesī believed in Buddha and was set free.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

After a few days Buddhaghosa set out in a boat with some merchants on his journey to Ceylon. On the same day Buddhadatta set out from Ceylon for Jambudīpa. On the third day of their being at sea, their boats, through the supernatural power of the devas, came into collision and remained stationary. They entered into conversation, and on Buddhadatta finding out the object of Buddhaghosa's voyage, he said, "I possess the *Jindalankāra* as well as the *Dhāturaṃsa* and the *Bodhiraṃsa*, but not the

Atthakathās and *Tīkās*; but if you render Buddha's word in Māgadhese, make a transcript also of the *Atthakathās*, of the three *Piṭakas*, and of the *Tīkās*." Encouraging Buddhaghosa thus, he made over to him the iron stylus and medicinal plum which he himself had received from Sakka, the former for writing quickly and the latter to be used as a medicament should his back ache while writing; and he further said, "Reverend Buddhaghosa, I went before you to Ceylon to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live, and shall not, therefore, be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily." The two then parted. Buddhadatta reached Jambudīpa, and after a time, having fulfilled all priestly duties, passed away into the Tusita heaven. Buddhaghosa arrived at Ceylon, and mooring his vessel near the Dvijathāna landing-place, remained there.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

While Buddhaghosa was at the landing-place, two women went down to fetch water. It happened, however, that while they were ascending one's water-jar hit against that of the other and broke it. A great quarrel arose and much abusive language was interchanged. Buddhaghosa, thinking he would be cited as a witness, took the precaution of putting their abuses in writing. The case came eventually before the king, and his sealed memorandum was put in evidence, he, as a priest, being debarred from attendance in court. Judgment was pronounced on the strength of his statements and one of the women punished. The king being desirous of seeing Buddhaghosa, asked the Brahmans where he resided; but they, as heretics, being unwilling to have his worth extolled, said, "He, contrary to priestly procedure, has come for the purpose of trading. It is not befitting that you should see him." The king, however, recognised his goodness, and gave expression to his own opinion in these words:

"There are indeed many priests in the island of Ceylon, but never before has one been seen like this. He goes to heaven who honours and reverences one like him, replete in virtue, quick-witted, and highly observant of duty."

CHAPTER SIXTH.

Buddhaghosa went to pay his respects to Saṅgharâjâ the archbishop of Ceylon, and sat down behind the monks, who were assembled to hear a discourse on the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*. The archbishop came upon a knotty point in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, and becoming perplexed, dismissed the congregation, and went into an inner chamber to reflect upon it. During his absence, Buddhaghosa set the signification down on a board and went away to his vessel. The archbishop, who had not solved the difficulty, was surprised afterwards to see the signification entered upon the board. On making inquiries about it from the monks, he was told that the foreign priest must have written it. He then gave orders to search for him and bring him into his presence. When he was brought, the archbishop wanted him to join his congregation, but Buddhaghosa said, "I do not wish to learn. I am a resident of Jambudîpa, and have come to render the Buddhist scriptures into Mâgadhese." Saṅgharâjâ was exceedingly pleased with this assurance, but to test his qualifications for the task, he gave him a stanza as text upon which to furnish an exposition of the three *Piṭakas*. Buddhaghosa answered, "Very well," and went away. On that very day, through a lucky aspect of the stars, he composed the *Visuddhimagga* with the greatest ease, and laying it aside, went off to sleep. Sakka stealthily carried off the work. On rising and not seeing it, he again wrote it by daylight, placed it under his head and slept. Sakka came in the middle watch of night and again carried it off. Buddha-ghosa, missing this too, wrote another copy in hot haste,

and tying it up in a robe, went to sleep. On awakening at dawn, he saw the two copies that had been taken away at the head of his bed. Glad in heart, he took the three copies to the archbishop. On being asked how he came by three copies, he narrated the circumstances, and when the archbishop had the three read out, the difference of even a single prefix or particle could not be discovered, and he then gave permission to render the Buddhist scriptures in Māgadhese. The author of the *Visuddhimagga* was thenceforth known in Ceylon as "Buddhaghosa," or "The Voice of Buddha."

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

After a while, Buddhaghosa asked Saṅgharājā for a suitable place where he could go on with his work. A seven-storied iron structure was allotted to him. There day by day he proceeded with the work of transcription. When on his begging rounds in the morning he used to pick up fallen palm-leaves and carry them away. One day a wise, virtuous, and learned man, who was a dealer in toddy, noticing what he did, scattered a lot of palm-leaves in the place where Buddhaghosa came for his food, and having done so, concealed himself. The thera picked up the leaves and took them away. The man followed him to the place where he stayed, and was quite pleased when he saw the writing work on which he was engaged. After three months, Buddhaghosa completed his task, and, on the conclusion of Lent, apprised Saṅgharājā of the fact. "Well done, well done!" exclaimed the latter, and added, "Even as a blind man sees not level and unlevel places, so we see not the words of Buddha. The religion of Buddha is difficult of acquirement. We discern it easily now by virtue of your translation." The writings of Mahinda were then put in a heap seven times the height of a middle-sized elephant, in a holy spot near the great shrine and set on fire. Buddhaghosa now took leave of

the priests to return to India. When he was about to embark with some merchants, certain Sinhalese priests twitted him saying, "This therā no doubt only knows the *Piṭakas*. He is not acquainted with the Sanskrit writings." This was brought to Buddhaghosa's notice by his friends, and he thereupon reported the matter to Saṅgharājā and requested a meeting at which he would discourse from the Sanskrit. Early the following morning he ascended the pulpit, and in order to display his knowledge of Sanskrit recited two stanzas in that language. All were confounded and amazed, and stripping themselves of their clothes and jewels, placed them at the feet of the divine. These offerings formed a pile equal in height to seven middle-sized elephants. Buddhaghosa, not desiring to have any, descended from the pulpit, saluted the priests, took leave of Saṅgharājā, went on board with the merchants, and set out for Jambudīpa.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

While in the middle of the sea, Buddhaghosa gave instruction to the merchants, saying, "Just as we go on the sea depending on a ship, and the ship will reach harbour depending upon us, so, depending upon the Ship of Wisdom and Goodness, we are conveyed happily to heaven." On arriving at his destination he took leave of his friends the merchants, and went to see his preceptor, who, on being apprised of his literary performance, extended to him the pardon that had been promised. He then proceeded to his parents. They paid homage to him on seeing him and entertained him with the daintiest food, and, moreover, pardoned him his previous behaviour. When he knew that the time for his departure from this world was nigh, he took leave of his preceptor, approached the Bodhi-tree, recited two stanzas in praise of it, and, on departing this life, was born in a golden mansion in the Tusīta heaven, to return to this world of men on the

coming of Meteyya, the next Buddha. When he died, men and gods made a funeral pile of sandal-wood for the cremation of his body. Raising aloft his remains on a golden couch, they set fire to the pile with due decorum. His relics were taken and buried in the vicinity of the Bodhi-tree and shrines erected over them.

The above is but a sketch. The story in its entirety will be found highly diverting as well as instructive. Its unity is well maintained, and it is not wanting in incidents of romantic interest. Though a legend, the author has so skilfully interwoven circumstantial details with fictitious elements as to give it an air of high plausibility; and it will not be difficult for one who seeks a moral in every tale to draw one from this. Facts of historical value cover only a limited space on the comparatively broad canvas of the narrative, and will probably add very little to what is already known of Buddhaghosa. The story, however, brings the personality of that eminent man more vividly before our minds and enforces a greater interest in him than ever; and if it does this only, it can be safely said that it was not written in vain.

Mahâmaṅgala, it is evident, writes from the standpoint of Sinhalese prepossession and bias. I shall, therefore, set forth the history of Buddhaghosa as found in the most trustworthy Burmese records. First and foremost of them is

THE MHANNANYÂZAWIN.

This *Yāzawin* (= *Rājavan̄sa*) was compiled at Ratanâpūra (Ava) in A.D. 1830. All such learned men as could be got together were assembled in the palace under royal orders to revise the old *Yāzawins* with a view to emendation and enlargement. A good deal of research was

brought to bear upon the task, and as faithful a record as possible made of social, political, and religious events in relation to the history of Burma from the earliest times. The *Mhannanyāzawin*¹ received the stamp of authority, and thereby superseded all previous histories—the *Early Yāzawin*, *Middle Yāzawin*, *Great Yāzawin*, and *New Yāzawin*. It gives a comprehensive survey of the history of Buddhism in Burma, and the *résumé* it contains of Buddhaghosa and his career is specially valuable. I give a translation of it.

The *Great Yāzawin* states that the celebrated Buddhaghosa went over from Thaton to Ceylon to bring away the *Piṭakas*, but the *New Yāzawin* declares he went from Majjhimadesa. The account is as follows:—Up to nine hundred years of the Era of Religion, the disciples of the theras Mahādharmarakkhita, Sona, and Uttara preserved the three *Piṭakas* orally, letters not being in use in Jambudīpa. Subsequently a Brahman youth, who resided near the Bodhi-tree, attained proficiency in the Vedas and medical books, and went about in Jambudīpa discoursing upon them. One day coming to a monastery, he discoursed most eloquently. When the mahāthera Revata listened to his rich and harmonious elocution, he pronounced him to be a learned man, and, considering what comparison he should draw, asked, “Who is this braying like an ass?” The young man replied, “So you can discern the bray of asses!” On being asked questions of this character, Revata gave satisfactory answers, but on questions about the religious law, the other was nonplussed. Revata made him a *rahan*, saying, “I shall teach you the Vedas,” and instructed him in the three *Piṭakas*. After a time he became as distinguished as Buddha and was called Buddhaghosa. Revata, knowing that Buddhaghosa wanted to make the *Tappaccānodaya*

¹ For the sake of contradistinction it is also known as the *Mhannan-mahāyāzawindaugyi*. *Mhannan* has reference to the glass palace in which the compilation was undertaken.

and *Aṭṭhasālinī atthakathās*, told him, "In Jambudīpa the Pāli exists, but there are no *Aṭṭhakathās*. Besides, the doctrinal discourses of our teachers are not intact; these exist uncorrupted in Ceylon. The Pāli as rehearsed at the Three Councils were taken over by Mahinda. After going to Ceylon and examining the glosses of Sāriputtara and other mahātheras, listen to the Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathās* and put them in Magādhese." [*Sūlavamsa*.]

Dhammapāla, the twenty-fifth king of Suvannabhūmi¹ (Thaion), in the dynasty of Siharājā, gave great encouragement to religion. He showed the appreciation and honour in which he held Buddhaghosa by giving him four nobles as attendants, an elephant,² and other valuable gifts. Buddhaghosa embarked at Bassein (Puthen³), proceeded to Majjhimadesa, and on his arrival there had

¹ The Burmese write this *Thuvannabhūmi*.

² It was not unusual for distinguished rahans to receive gifts of elephants, although, from religious considerations, they could not be brought to personal use. Instances are recorded of their having been set free after being received, or being given away.

³ Called Kusimanagara in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and ancient writings. It is on the most western mouth of the Irawadi, and was the port of embarkation to Ceylon. Direct maritime communication between that island and Burma seems to have been established in or after the tenth century. "Puthen" was Alaungpra's name for the Talaing Kuthen—a corruption and contraction of Kusima. "We owe to the grim sarcasm of Alompra numerous changes in geographical names of British Burma. The conqueror of Pegu finding Mahāgāma (once an important city north of Prome) to compare unfavourably with the other cities of that country, such as Prome and Rangoon, considered it unworthy of the name of Mahāgāma, and with prurient pleasantry suggested that henceforth it should be called Kāma (*sensual desire*). In Bassein a fierce struggle ensued between Alompra's soldiery and the Talaings. The fight centred round a *sīmā* (Bur. *thein*), or image-house. The town had hitherto been called Kuthein (a corruption of the Pāli Kusima, the Cosmim of the Portuguese). Alompra changed the name to Puthien, 'the hot image-house.' Dagon [Tikumbha, shortened to Tikun by the Talaings and corrupted to Dagon by the Burmese.—*Ed.*] he altered to Yangun (Rangoon). By these changes a tonal similarity between the new and old appellations was preserved, but their historical and etymological connexion destroyed."—*Forchhammer*.

drawings taken of seven sites near the Bodhi-tree—the Nerañcarâ (Lilâjan) river, the Puppagôn monastery, &c. He then made up his mind to cross over to Ceylon. [*First Yâzarvin*, according to Talaing history.]

The omniscient Sakka gave him a plum (*kyazuthi*) by means of which to ward off hunger and thirst, and also an iron pen to enable him to write as much as he liked. Buddhaghosa went to the harbour of Bhaṅgarî in Dakkhinadesa, and arrived by ship at the island of Ceylon. [*Buddhaghosuppatti* and *Sâsanavaṃsa*.]

In a cloister of the Mahâvihâra he heard the *Aṭṭhakathâs* and the discourses of the old theras expounded by Saṅghapâla the mahâthera; and having first of all composed the *Visuddhimagga*, he translated all the *aṭṭhakathâs* into Mâgadhese. [*Sâlavamsa*.]

Moreover, having studied the *Mahâpaccaritaatṭhakathâ*, the *Mahâatṭhakathâ*, and the *Kurundiatṭhakathâ*¹ under the teacher Buddhamitta, he composed several treatises. [*Buddhaghosa's Vinayaparivâraatṭhakathâ*.]

On taking leave of King Mahânâma, he presented him with an elephant and other gifts, and bringing with him the three *Piṭakas*, their *Aṭṭhakathâs*, and the *Visuddhimagga*, he was on the point of going to Jambudîpa, but just then Sakka came and said, "The Majjhimadesa tract is no place for the establishment of Buddha's religion; it should be pushed on in Paccantadesa, a tract south-east of Jambudîpa, 900 leagues (*yojanas*) in circuit, including Sarekkhettarâ, Sripaccayâ, Râmañña, &c., in order to complete 5000 years of the religious era; take it thither." This request having been made, Buddhaghosa carried the religion to Sudhammavâtî (Thaton). The whole of Râmañ-

¹ The *Mahâpaccarita*, or, properly speaking, the *Mahâpaccariatṭhakathâ*, is said to have been so called because it was written in Ceylon on a raft known as "Mahâpaccari;" the *Mahâatṭhakathâ* was the great commentary of Mahinda, based on the renderings adopted by the First Council under Mahâkassapa; the *Kurundiatṭhakathâ* is said to have been so called after the Kurundavelu monastery. Vide "Origin of the Buddhist Arthakathâs," *J. R. A. S.*, Art. xiv., 1871.

ñadesa was in a state of great ferment and excitement at his arrival, and went forth to meet him with offerings and festivities, and escorted him as if he were the omniscient Buddha himself. On arriving at the royal city, a pavilion was erected on a beautiful site in front of the palace, and the sacred scriptures deposited therein. At this time Anomadaśi was archbishop, being a disciple in the direct line of missionaries commencing from Soṇa and Uttara, who came to Suvannabhūmi after the Third Council. During his spiritual administration missionaries preached Buddhism in Burma, the Mwan (Talaing) country, Shan land, Cochin China, Arakan, Siam, and Anam.¹ Thus, then, as now, Buddha's religion flourished far and wide in Paccantadesa. [*Sāsanaṇaṃsa* and *Thaṭon Yāzawin*.]

After the Third Council, and in the year 230 A.B. (= B.C. 313),² Mahāmahinda arrived in Ceylon; and from the time of Devanampiyatissa (the sixth king from Vijaya), who gave a great impulse to religion, up to A.B. 450, the scriptures were propagated orally, but in the reign of Vattagāmaṇi, the twenty-fourth king of the dynasty, and in the sixth year of his reign, five hundred rahandas, perceiving that the wisdom of creatures would diminish, held a Fourth Council, called the Potthakāruḥa Council, very similar to those held before, and transcribed the *Piṭakas* upon palm-leaves. In the reign of King Buddhadhāsa, the sixty-third king, an abbot Dhammakathika made a Sinhalese version of the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*; and in A.B. 946 (= A.D. 403), during the rule of King Mahānāma, the sixtieth king, the mahāthera Buddhaghosa finished an edition in Māgadhesa and came to Suvanna-

¹ I have rendered "Yun" by Anam, but Forchhammer says, "The native name of the Shan and Laos states is Yōn."—*Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of B. Burm.*

² Talaing-Burmese chronology, established independently of Sinhalese reckonings, places the Nirvāṇa of Buddha at B.C. 543, or, more strictly speaking, B.C. 543-544. The Burmese now and then accept Sinhalese dates in their writings, supposing them to be correct.

bhūmi, otherwise called Thaton,¹ in the island of Jambudīpa.

In connection with the above date, the Mhannanyāzawin observes that the *Great Yāzawin* says it was in the forty-second year of the reign of the Thaton king Thinligyaung (A.D. 344–387) that Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon, but in that year, *i.e.*, A.B. 930 (= A.D. 387), Mahānāma had not commenced to reign. There is, then, a discrepancy of fourteen years.² It was in the fifteenth year of King Kyaungdurit, the son of Thinligyaung, that Mahānāma became king, that is, in A.B. 946 (= A.D. 403).

THĀTHANĀLANKĀRA.

In 1832, or two years after the completion of the *Mhannanyāzawin*, the learned Wungyi of Ava, Sirimahānanda, compiled the *Thāthandlankāra* (*Sāsānālanakāra*), a treatise on the history of Buddhism in Burma. It is considered a work of great value and of the nature of an official record. The manuscript gives fairly detailed accounts of Buddhaghosa, based on the *Buddhaghosuppatti*

¹ Thaton = Sudhammanagara. *Sudhamma* became contracted to *Thudham* = *Thudhan* = Thaton.

² Considering the accuracy of the Talaing chronicles, it would appear that there must be some error in Sinhalese chronology, arising probably from the desire of making Vijaya's reign synchronise with the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. For chronological purposes, I quote the following from a rare Burmese manuscript, the *Tathāgatuppattivatthu*:—"Up to 450 A.B. (B.C. 93) the *Piṭakas* were orally preserved, but in the reign of Vattagāmani, the eighteenth king of Ceylon, five hundred rahans, seeing that they could not be perpetuated so, in order to make them permanent, had them transcribed on palm-leaves. In the reign of the sixty-second king Kittisiri, and in 830 A.B. (A.D. 287), Prince Vinda with Princess Hemamālā, daughter of King Kurisiva, took ship from Kālīṅga to Ceylon with the eye-tooth-relic; and after the lapse of 930 years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha (*i.e.*, after A.D. 386), Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon from Jambudīpa in the reign of Mahānāma, the sixty-sixth king." With regard to Buddhaghosa nothing more is stated. The *Tathāgatuppattivatthu* was written in A.D. 1775 by Dhammānanda, and seems to be based upon the *Tathāgatuppatti* of a South-Indian rahan Nānagambhira, written during or before the tenth century.

and the *Colavamsa*. That from the former is substantially the story of my text, except that, on the authority of the *Visuddhimagga*, the compiler substitutes Saṅghapâla for Saṅgharâga as the name of the archbishop of Ceylon. The account from the *Colavamsa* is, for the most part, similar to that given in Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, and as it is fuller than that contained in the *Mhannanyāzawin*, I reproduce it here.

In the vicinity of the Bodhi-tree there was a young man who had attained proficiency in the three Vedas, and was well acquainted with Vedic controversies and opinions, and in his debates with others elicited admiration. After travelling all over Jambudîpa he made a temporary sojourn in a certain monastery. There he entered into discussions with its superior, the mahâthera Revata. In all controversial points mooted by him he received satisfactory answers, but when Revata questioned him with regard to the transcendental doctrines of Buddha, he was unable to reply. He then asked the mahâthera what *mantas* he was acquainted with; and on being told he was acquainted with Buddha's *manta*, he expressed his desire to know the system. "If you become a rahan, you will be instructed," replied Revata. On becoming one for the purpose of studying the *manta*, he completed the study of the three *Pitakas*; and because he was profound in scholarship and became as famous as Buddha, teachers bestowed upon him the appellation "Buddhaghosa." While with Ravata, Buddhaghosa composed the *Nānodaya* and *Aṭṭhasālinī*, and when he was on the point of applying himself to the compilation of the *Paritta-aṭṭhakathā*, his preceptor told him, "The Pāli exists in Jambudîpa, but there are no *Aṭṭhakathās*, and the doctrinal discourses of the teachers (theras) are not intact; therefore, because there exist in Ceylon the commentaries of Sāriputtarā and other rahandas, based on the Pāli texts as settled at the Three Councils and carried thither by Mahinda, go and reduce them into Māgadhese for the well-being of man-

kind." Thereupon, Buddhaghosa crossed over to Ceylon and entered the great monastery of Anurâdhapura. After hearing the thera Saṅghapâla's recital of all the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* and *Theravādas*, he asked permission to work up the former. The religious assembly having given him the gāthā "*Sāle patitṭhāya*," &c., said, "Show your competency by means of this stanza." Then by epitomising the three *Piṭakas* and the *Aṭṭhakathās*, he produced the *Visuddhimagga*, containing 14,000 stanzas. He produced three copies alike and showed them to the Assembly, who, delighted with his performance, handed over to him the *Piṭakas* with the *Aṭṭhakathās*. Having made a Māgadhese version of the latter, he returned to Jambudīpa.

With regard to Buddhaghosa's return to Jambudīpa, the compiler of the *Thāthanaḷaṅkāra* observes that as neither the *Buddhaghosuppatti* nor the *Cūḷavaṃsa* mentions the exact place to which he went, it is reasonable to conjecture that Thaton (Suvannabhūmi) was his destination, especially as the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Anguttaranikāya* mentions the existence of an oceanic highway between it and Ceylon.

Attention may be here drawn to some marked divergences in the Burmese accounts based on the *Cūḷavaṃsa* and the Pāli narrative found in Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*.¹ For the purpose of comparison, I give the following translation of the text in the latter:—

A young Brahman in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the Bodhi-tree was accomplished in the arts and sciences

¹ The *Collegantharavaṃsa* of Nandapañṇa describes the authors of the *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūḷavaṃsa* as unknown. According to it, they were written by different authors (*risun risun katā*). The only work ascribed to Mahānāma is the *Saddhammapakāsinī*, the *aṭṭhakathā* of *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, but Nagomahānāma is credited with the treatise *Navam Mahāvamsam*. Only one work is ascribed to Dhammakitti, and that is the *Dantadhātupakaranam*. The *Piṭaka Thamaṅga* makes Mahānāma the author of the *Aṭṭhakathā* and *Tikā* of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Cūḷavaṃsa*. The *Sāsanadīpaku* also ascribes the *Aṭṭhakathās* of these two works to Mahānāma.

and had gone through the Vedas. He was well versed in all forms of religious belief and acquainted with the various controversies. Going about in Jambudīpa, he would engage in controversies with disputants. Having come to a monastery, he used to recite a discourse full of matter and treated comprehensively. There, a mahāthera, perceiving he was a very wise man, said, "It behooves me to humiliate him," and asked, "Who is braying like an ass?" The young man retorted, "What! know you the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses?" The mahāthera said, "I know," and made a display of his own knowledge, answered each assertion, and pointed out fallacies. "Now then," said the young Brahman, "proceed to your own system." Having incited him thus, and being unable to expound to him the signification of a text from the great *Abhidhamma*, he asked, "Whose system is this?" "The system of Buddha," replied the other. On the young man saying, "Impart it to me," the mahāthera replied, "Take holy orders." Being desirous of acquiring the three *Piṭakas*, he entered the priesthood and acquired a knowledge of them, and afterwards accepted them as orthodox, saying, "This is the only road to truth." Owing to his deep Buddha-like voice, people called him "Buddhaghosa." He was like Buddha himself on the earth. Having in the monastery there composed the treatise *Nāṇodaya*, he then wrote the section "Aṭṭhasālini" on the *Dhammasaṅgani*.¹ Being profoundly wise, he began to compose the *Parittaṭṭhakathā*.² Seeing this, the thera Revata addressed him thus—"The Pāli text alone was brought here; here the *Aṭṭhakathās* do not exist; so also the Thera Discourses, not being intact, are not to be found; the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* are uncorrupted. The wise Mahinda, having examined the discourses of the all-wise Buddha, admitted by the Three Councils and chanted by Sāriputta and others, translated the *Aṭṭhakathās* in the

¹ This is one of the books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.

² A general-commentary.

language of Ceylon, and they are now extant among the Sinhalese. Go there, and, hearing them read, translate them in the idiom of the Mâgadhese; that idiom is productive of world-wide benefit." On this being spoken, Buddhaghosa, the greatly wise one, was delighted, and departing thence, came to this island in the time of this king (Mahânâma). On arriving at the great monastery (at Anurâdhapura), he proceeded to the chief cloister (Mahâpadhâna), the finest of all the apartments in the monastery, and hearing Saṅghapâla's recital of the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* and the Thera Discourses (*Theravâdas*) in their entirety, he came to the conclusion, "This indeed is the import of the words of the Lord of Religion," and paying respect to the religious assembly, he said, "Give me all your books in order to enable me to work up the *Aṭṭhakathās*." Wishing to test him, they gave him two stanzas and said, "Show your competence in this; on discerning it, we shall give you all the books." By means of the *Aṭṭhakathās* together with the *Three Piṭakas*, he made a concise compendium called the *Visuddhimagga*. Then, assembling the priests who had attained to proficiency in Buddha's doctrines under the great Bodhi-tree, he began to read it. The gods, in order to publish his profound knowledge among mankind, caused the book to disappear, but he composed it a second and a third time. On the work being produced for recital the third time, they deposited the other two volumes there in the midst of the assembly. The priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In the three, neither as regards text, sense, or sequence, nor as regards the Theravâdas and the Pâli, or words and letters, was there any discrepancy. Then the priests, being singularly pleased and delighted, repeatedly exclaimed, "Undoubtedly this is Meteyya himself!" They gave him the *Tipiṭaka* books with the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and then, while residing in the secluded Ganthâkara monastery, he translated all the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* by means of the Mâgadhese idiom,

the root of all languages. That language of all languages was conducive to the welfare of men ; all the thera teachers held it as identical with the language of the Pāli. Then all that was necessary to be done being brought to a consummation, he—Buddhaghosa—proceeded to Jambudīpa to pay homage to the Bodhi-tree.¹

VĀMSADĪPAṆĪ.

This manuscript was written in A.D. 1823 by Jinālaṅkāradhaja and records the following :—

On the death of Buddhādāsa, his son, Upatissa, became king. He was favourable to Buddhism. On his death, after a rule of forty-two years, his younger brother Mahānāma ascended the throne in A.B. 915 (= A.D. 372), and in the fifteenth year of his reign (A.B. 930 = A.D. 387) Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon from Buddhaghosa village in Suvannabhūmi, and reduced the *Piṭakas* together with the *Aṭṭhakathās* into Māgadhese from Sinhalese palm-leaf manuscripts. On the completion of this work, Mahānāma had seven years yet to reign. From the time of Devānaṁpiyātissa to that of Mahānāma sixty-one kings ruled in Ceylon. After Vattagāmaṇi, during whose reign the scriptures were transcribed in Sinhalese, forty-three kings ruled from the time of Mahācūḷaka to that of Mahānāma, in whose time Buddhaghosa copied the *Piṭakas* ; and during the 485 years that they reigned, innumerable rahans and laymen composed works in connection with Buddhism.

SĀSANAVĀMSA.

In A.B. 930 (= A.D. 387) Buddhādatta crossed from Sudhamnavatī² (Thaton) to Ceylon. He remained with

¹ Turnour's translation at page 250 of his *Mahāvamsa* is recommended for perusal.

² It is said this name was given to Suvannabhūmi after the Buddhist scriptures were brought thither by Buddhaghosa. *Vide* the account from the *Thā'handasinasek* given further on.

Sinhalese teachers and composed the *Jinālaṅkāra* and its *Ṭikā*.¹ Having a strong bias for secular (*Lokī*) writings, he returned from Ceylon without making a copy of the *Piṭakas*. In the same year, A.B. 930, the thera Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon, remained with the teachers of the Mahāvihāra, and composed the *Visuddhimagga* commencing with "*Sīle patitṭhāya nara*." The Sinhalese teachers being pleased with him, gave him permission to write the *Piṭakas*. It is said the *Piṭaka* repository had a door of iron grating. On his reciting the *Mahānamakkāra*² beginning with the words "*Sugataṃ, sugataṃ, seṭṭhaṃ*," the door opened of itself. Having transcribed the *Piṭakas* from Sinhalese into Burmese, he returned to Sudhammavati (Thaton).

"KALYĀṆI INSCRIPTIONS" NISSAYA.

The Burmese *Nissaya* of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (A.D. 1477) of the Rāmañña King Dhammaceti Rāmādhīpati (A.D. 1461-1492) gives the following record, which appears in the form of a gloss only, as the inscriptions themselves make no reference to Buddhaghosa.

After eighteen kings had ruled in Ceylon, the excellent rahandas, during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, seeing that the religion could not be transmitted orally, and in order that it might not be confounded with other great religious creeds, had written the *Piṭakas* and the *Aṭṭha-kathās* on palm-leaves in the Sinhalese language. In the year of religion 903 (= A.D. 360), in the reign of the

¹ This is ascribed to Buddhārakkhita in the *Sāsanadīpaka*, but this work does not mention the *Jinālaṅkāra* as Buddhādatta's composition. My MS. of *Cullaganīthavamsa* ascribes the *Jinālaṅkāra* as well as its *Ṭikā* to Buddhārakkhita.

² This poem has been edited by me along with the *Vicitravandana*. It is credited with being an impromptu effusion, and is cited as an example of the marvellous skill Buddhaghosa possessed in the employment of metres. There are no less than twenty different metres in the thirty-four stanzas it contains, most of them having similar quarter-verses.

ninety-ninth¹ king of Ceylon, Mahânâma, the thera Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon from Jambudipa and made a transcription from Sinhalese to Mâgadhesse.²

THÂTHANÂASINASEK.

(Based on *Talaing Chronicles*.)

The late Stephen M'Kertich, a clever Burmese scholar, who was long a resident of Thaton, furnished me some years ago with the following narrative from a manuscript of some value entitled *Thâthanâasinasek*, or "*The Progress of Religion*:"—

During the time of Soṇa and Uttara's mission (B.C. 307 or 308) the religion of Buddha became firmly established in Thaton, but as the law was unwritten in the language of the country, the study of the *Piṭakas* had to be transmitted orally from one set of teachers to another in succession. This unsatisfactory mode of imparting the knowledge of the newly-founded religion was continued for nearly seven centuries under seven schools of teachers until the reign of Dhammapâla, A.B. 930, when Buddhaghosa, a priest of Thaton, crossed over to Ceylon, where, having devoted himself to the study of the Sinhalese language, he copied the whole of the three portions of the *Piṭakas* with their commentaries, and brought them over

¹ It cannot be but that "ninety-ninth" is a mistake for "fifty-ninth" and "903" for "930." I have allowed the figures to stand as I found them in my manuscript, which is the only one of the *Nissayas* I have been able to consult in which the interpolation about Buddhaghosa occurs.

² The "Kalyâni inscriptions" have a very high historical value, but only so far as they refer to Dhammaceti's mission to Bhuvanekabâhu, king of Ceylon, and his efforts to reform religion in Râmaññadesa through properly ordained rahans, twenty-two of whom had to undergo re-ordination on the sacred Kalyâni river near Anurâdhapura. The image-house erected near Pegu (Hamsavati) on the return of the mission was called Kalyânisimâ, and the stone inscriptions ordered by Dhammaceti are known as the "Kalyâni Inscriptions." The palm-leaf MS. has—"Imissâ pana simâya kalyâniṅgaṅgâya sajjitâyam udakukkhepasimâyam upasampannehi bhikkhûhi samatattâ kalyânisimâ ti nâmam adâsi."

to his native place. From this circumstance, Thaton, which had been known as Suvannabhûmi—the “Land of Gold”—was now called Sudhammavati (the “Land of the True Law”). The return of the ships¹ of Buddhaghosa from Ceylon with the sacred cargo on board is said to have been celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The king, attended by all the members of royalty and the nobility, and followed by a large retinue of attendants, went down to the landing, and there, having made great offerings to the holy rahan, had the sacred writings conveyed on a white elephant under a canopy formed of the red, the gold, and the white umbrellas, into the town,² and

¹ It was not uncommon, as native histories tell us, for two or more vessels to have sailed in company. If the “ships” were in Buddhaghosa’s service, it would perhaps show that he had a large retinue of rahans and others who assisted him in the great work for which his mission to Ceylon was undertaken. It is possible, too, that, owing to the sacred nature of the “cargo,” one boat may have been specially chartered for its conveyance.

² This was Gojanagara, the identical place where Sona and Uttara, the Buddhist missionaries from India, landed. Forchhammer in his *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma* says:—“About 12 miles from the present seashore and 22 miles to the north-west of Thaton rises a range of hills which is known as the Kelasa Mountains. The central and highest summit is called the Kelasa Peak, lat. 17° 2', long. 97° 2'. The north-eastern side of the mountain is a perpendicular precipice of massive rock. The south-western declivity is thickly wooded and slopes gently towards the plain, which extends in unbroken flatness to the ocean and the Sittang river. The summit of the southern spur is crowned by the Kyaikdiyo pagoda and the central peak by the Kelasa pagoda. . . . The Kelasa pagoda as it now stands was built by Dhammaceti. . . . Descending the stairs, the path leads to an open level place, once the site of the Kelasavihâra, which in former times enjoyed the same renown in Suvannabhûmi as the Mahâvihâra in Ceylon. The foundation of this monastery is connected with the landing of Sona and Uttara, and Talaing tradition reports that Buddhaghosa, after his arrival in Râmañña, retired to this cloister. . . . The region along the western base of the mountain Ayethima to near Kinyua was formerly known (and is still frequently called) Kulâtaik. The Talaing name is Taikkulā (pronounced Taikkalā). Though the sea-shore is now about 12 miles to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is marked on the map of Professor Lassen as Takkala, but erroneously placed a few miles north of Tavoy. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikkulā.”

placed them on view in the centre of a large *mandat* or pavilion built in front of the palace for the purpose. Immense numbers of rahans of different nationalities, such as the Burmese, Talaings (Mons), Siamese, Annamese, Linchins, Thibetans, &c., flocked in from all parts of the Buddhist world and diligently applied themselves to the study of the *Pitakas*. Under Anomadassi—the last of the above alluded seven teachers—at the head of five hundred disciples, the sacred religion of Gotama flourished in Thaton, and many of the most Brahmanical philosophers became converts to Buddhism. With the rise of Buddhism, Brahmanism and other heretical religions which had prevailed in Thaton and its neighbouring kingdoms began to decline.

BIGANDET'S ACCOUNT.

For Sir Arthur Phayre's researches and views with regard to Buddhaghosa I must refer the reader to vols. xxxiii., xxxvii., and xlii. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹ Bishop Bigandet's account in the *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, as based upon MSS. which state the period of Buddhaghosa's stay in Ceylon, is as follows:—

It is probable that there occurred at Thaton what we know to have taken place in Ceylon, namely, religion was propagated first by means of oral tradition. The first one who made an attempt to possess himself of a copy of the sacred scriptures was Buddhaghosa, a *religious* of Thaton, of the Pounha (Brahman) race. That man embarked at Thaton, which was then on or near the sea. That place is in the Râmañña country, and is inhabited by a people

¹ For further bibliography on the subject *vide* Foulkes' excellent and comprehensive paper "Buddhaghosa" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix. p. 105. Excepting Phayre and Bigandet, the reader is recommended to accept the statements of writers on Burma referred to therein with some caution. See also the excellent narrative in chap. vii. of *Saddham-masāṅgaha* in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1890.

called Moun (Muns). He sailed to Ceylon, then under the reign of Mahânâma, in the year of religion 943 (= A.D. 400). He resided three years on that island, wrote the *Piṭakas* on palm-leaves with the Burmese¹ characters, those being found written in the language and characters of Ceylon. In another manuscript we read that he translated into Pâli the scriptures which were in the language of Ceylon. Buddhaghosa remained three years in Ceylon in order to complete the work he had undertaken. During his stay in that island the people were so much pleased with him that they made him many and costly presents on his leaving their country.²

GENERAL REMARKS.

It will be seen that the materials I have brought together are from three sources—(1) Talaing, (2) Sinhalese, (3) Burmese. Whatever accounts the Burmese possess, have been adapted from Talaing and Sinhalese chronicles, and may be safely dismissed as of insufficient value for a rigid investigation into the history of Buddhaghosa. They had no literature—in fact, no letters till the eleventh century, when Anawratha conquered Thaton and carried away the literary treasures of its monasteries to his Burman capital. The late learned Dr. Forchhammer wrote: “A critical study of Burmese literature evolves the fact that the Burmese idiom reached the stage of a translatory language at the close of the fifteenth century, and that of an independent literary tongue not much more than a

¹ Properly speaking, the Talaing characters, which were afterwards adapted by the Burmese for their literature. According to the date given here, Buddhaghosa must have been absent six years from Thaton.

² This account, for the most part, accords with the *Tathāgata-uddāna-dīpaṇī*. At the time Bishop Bigandet wrote, he had access to some MSS. which are difficult to find now, all affirming that Buddhaghosa was a Brahman of Thaton. The worthy Bishop, in a recent conversation with me on the subject, expressed himself as fully convinced that the famous divine went from Thaton to Ceylon (visiting Gaya first) to obtain the Buddhist scriptures for the Talaings.

century ago." As for the Sinhalese accounts, they are rendered suspicious by the incorporation of mythical ingredients. The superstructure as raised in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* rests on an unreliable foundation. With a tissue of truth and a great deal of fiction, a story is recounted which, however attractive as a legend, is untrustworthy as a historical document. The narrative in the *Cūlavamsa* has an unmistakable air of plausibility about it, but as the supernatural element is not absent from it, its authenticity as a whole is open to suspicion; and in the absence of chronological data, one cannot help inferring that it is a condensed version of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* legend with such variations as the exigencies of versification may have necessitated. When, however, we examine Talaing documents, we feel as if we are moving on safe ground. The records of the Talaings date back to the fourth century B.C. The researches by Forchhammer in this direction are particularly valuable. He says: "The authenticated history of the Talaings begins with the fourth century before Christ, when Soṇa and Uttara, two Buddhist missionaries, landed at Goḷanagara, a settlement of the Gangetic Gaudas (the Gaurs) on the shores of Suvannabhūmī, which comprised the coast from the Sittaung river to the Straits. The oldest Talaing inscriptions date back to the fourth century A.D., and the lithic characters are almost identical with the Dravidian-Vengi alphabet of the same period." Their state of culture and their competence to keep up regular records of events may be gathered from the following passage:—"Talaing records contain information about Southern India which, I believe, is not found in the annals of other nations of India and Indo-China; it bespeaks an intercourse with the eastern coast of the Deccan during the supremacy of Buddhism in those parts. . . . The Talaing *pāramparas*, or histories of the succession of priests, distinctly state that Dhammapāla lived in a monastery built by order of Asoka at Bhadra(-tittḥa) near Kāñcīpura.

He must have lived after Buddhaghosa (fifth century), for he wrote the *Visuddhimaggatīkā*, a scholium on Buddhaghosa's great encyclopædia of Buddhist doctrine. . . . The list of rahans of Southern India is given in Talaing records in chronological order. . . . They give us further information for which we seek in vain elsewhere in works written in Southern India: Kaccâyana, who must have lived in about the seventh century A.D., is followed by Buddhaphira, author of *Sattasāṅgaha*; then by Ñāṇagambhira, who wrote the *Tathāgatuppatti*, a biography of Buddha. Next in order comes Anuruddha Ācariya, the author of the celebrated *Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha*. . . ." There is unmistakable evidence in Talaing records of methodical treatment and general truthfulness; and credence can therefore be easily accorded to the account they contain of Buddhaghosa. It is plainly recorded. No mythical elements go to mar its authenticity, and it is free from any great exaggeration of commonplace incidents. If he is called a native of Thaton, it is not meant that he was a Talaing. It is admitted he was a Brahman and is usually described as a rahan of Thaton. There is nothing incongruous, however, in considering it his birthplace. Thaton, or rather its Port Goḷanagara (Bur. Kulataik¹), contained a flourishing Brahman colony, with regular maritime communication with the Deccan; and the great Kelâsa monastery, about ten or twelve miles south-east of the port, was the home of a large number of Buddhist rahans of the Brahmanic race.

The main facts, therefore, in the history of Buddhaghosa, based upon Talaing history and tradition, will be as follows:—Buddhaghosa was a Brahman born in Thaton. He was an inmate of the Kelâsa monastery, and in A.D.

¹ "Kulataik" signifies "a brick or mud building of the Kalas (or Golas = gaudas)." As to the origin of the name Goḷanagara, the MS. of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions has—"Taṃ pana nagaram Goḷamanussagharāṇaṃ viya mattikagharāṇaṃ bahulatāya Goḷamattikanagaran ti yāv' ajjatanā voharanti."

387 he was deputed to Ceylon by King Thin-li-gyaung (Dhammapâla) in order to bring away a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures. At Bassein he took ship for Tâmalitti, the Indian port, and first went to Gayâ by the Gangetic route, to obtain drawings of the principal sacred sites. He returned by the same route and proceeded to Ceylon. He stayed there three years. He composed the *Visuddhimagga* while at Anurâdhapura, and on his return to Thaton brought a complete copy of the *Piṭakas* with their commentaries, as well as other works¹ in the Talaing (Dravidian-Vengi) characters.

With regard to the means of communication, recent archaeological researches show that there was a regular sea-route between Gauda and Kalinga and the port of Goḷanagara, about thirty miles north-west of the present town of Thaton. Up to the tenth century there was no direct communication between Suvannabhûmi and Ceylon but *viâ* some port² on the eastern Indian coast. This fact would explain the reference to Buddhaghosa going to India³ before proceeding to Suvannabhûmi, and when on

¹ It is now known on good authority that he brought with him several Hindoo law-books, which were adapted by native jurists for Talaing requirements. The Burmese law treatises were subsequently based on these.

² The principal ports appear to have been Nāvutapattana and Komâlapattana. There was also the port of Nâgapattana, an entrepot of trade with Ceylon. The two former had a regular service of vessels to Bassein in Râmaññadesa, which subsequently became absorbed in Marammadesa (Burma). Buddhaghosa, in order to get to the nearest Indian port on his journey to Buddhagayâ (then called only Gayâ), may have proceeded from Goḷanagara *en route* to Bassein (Kusimâ), but first going to Haṃsavati (Pegu). A MS. history of the reign of King Dhammaceti records the voyage of a vessel which started at Bassein and went coasting, touching at the principal ports of Arakan and Eastern Bengal. It had on board the members of the mission sent by that king to Gayâ in A.D. 1472. The Kalyâni inscriptions give the account of two ships that went direct to Ceylon from Bassein.

³ India is often called Jambudîpa, although the latter name properly includes Further India as a division (Paccantadesa, with the districts of Sunaparanta, Sirikhattara, Ramañña, Suvannabhûmi, &c.). In relation to Ceylon Jambudîpa implies the great southern continent.

his way to Ceylon from Buddha Gayâ he may have met Buddhadatta in some monastery in Kalinga or elsewhere on the coast.

There may be some significance in the statement that Buddhaghosa compiled three editions of the *Visuddhimagga*. The original compilation was most probably intended for Thaton, while one copy may have been made for India, and the other for retention in the Mahāvihâra of Anurâdhapura. As to the duration of Buddhaghosa's stay in Ceylon, the *Buddhaghosuppatti* says it was three months. This calculation is, no doubt, the outcome of Mahâmaṅgala's ingenuity to make the divine's performances accord with the miraculous capabilities of the celestial style presented to him by Buddhadatta. Three years, as mentioned in Talaing chronicles, also seem insignificantly small for the colossal work attributed to him. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that he had able coadjutors, and was assisted by scribes, who may have written to his dictation, or served as ordinary copyists. The first *Yāzawin* says he brought away in all fifty-six volumes.¹ If it be admitted that the Sinhalese of the fourth century A.D. was only a dialectical variety of the Māgadhese proper—and I believe this cannot be controverted—it must have been a work chiefly of adaptation rather than of translation that Buddhaghosa had to perform. The *Aṭṭhakathās*, no doubt, received his special attention, while the transliteration of the *Piṭakas* may have been executed in collaboration. Therefore, taking into consideration his genius and attainments, a period of three years as the duration of his stay in Ceylon is not below the mark.

It seems unreasonable to hold that a special deputation from the mahâthera of Gayâ, under the circumstances recorded by the Sinhalese writers, was required for the pur-

¹ Six centuries afterwards, when Anawratha conquered Thaton, it is said in the history of Pagan that the Burmese carried away to their capital five elephant-loads of manuscripts.

pose of obtaining the commentaries.¹ Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Behar and the southern countries at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, as attested by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, and no disastrous or paralysing effect on its ascendancy is recorded in the centuries preceding. Buddhist monasteries abounded at the time of that pilgrim's visit. Able rahans must have existed in large numbers, and writing was not unknown. It seems difficult, therefore, to accept the statement that the commentaries were lost completely in India, or that, with easy communication between it and Ceylon, the desideratum could not have been readily supplied without having recourse to an improbable story.² In Thaton, however, where the labourers in the missionary field were comparatively few, and where up to the fourth century the scriptures were preserved orally, the necessity for the possession of a complete version with commentaries must have been keenly felt. That the king of Thaton, by the advice of the chief of the Kelâsa monastery,

¹ When Fa Hian visited Gayâ, he found three monasteries there which conformed to the orthodox Buddhist regulations. He says nothing about any Sinhalese priests or monastery. But see Oldenberg's *Vinaya Piṭaka*, p. liii.

² During the three years Fa Hian was at Sâvatthi he collected several sacred books, and for two years previous to his leaving for Ceylon he was engaged in copying the scriptures at Tâmalitti, a flourishing Buddhist town. He had difficulties at first in obtaining certain works, but these must have disappeared to a great extent after he had devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit and was able to converse more freely and intelligently with the Buddhist rahans than on his arrival in India. The bulk of the books he acquired was from the Gangetic monasteries. He does not tell us about the state of literature in Ceylon, but, says Beal, "continuing his search (for the sacred books), he obtained a copy of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* according to the school of the Mahisasikas." He also obtained three Sinhalese compilations in Pâli. He says nothing about the *Aṭṭhakathâs*, but these, as being in Sinhalese, he could not have readily utilised. And here a very pertinent question may be asked. If Buddhaghosa took the commentaries to Gayâ, to Revata's monastery, how is it Fa Hian, who was in eager search for manuscripts, makes no mention of them? The theory that Buddhaghosa was sent from Gayâ on his literary mission to Ceylon is open to grave suspicion, and may be safely interpreted as a mere fabrication.

should have sent a religious mission under Buddhaghosa is a most likely inference, and taken in connection with the unvarnished statements of the Talaing chroniclers, enforces implicit credence.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S WORKS.

As no account of Buddhaghosa would be complete without mention of his literary works, I give two lists from Burmese MSS. The nomenclature differs, but the treatises included are identical. The Burmese *Pitaka-thamaing* names the following *Aṭṭhakathās* by him :—

Pārâjika°.	Ekanipâtāaṅguttara°.
Pācityādia°.	Dukatikacatukkanipâtāa°.
Saṅkhāvitaranī°.	Pañcādinipâtāaṅguttara°.
Suttasīlakkhandhaa°.	Khuddakapāṭhaa°.
Suttapātheyyaa°.	Dhammapadaa°.
Suttamahāvāa°.	Suttanipâtāa°.
Mūlapaṇṇāsaa°.	Apāḷānaa°.
Majjhimaṇṇāsaa°.	Visudhimaggaa°.
Upaṇṇāsaa°.	Aṭṭhasālinīa°.
Sagāthāvārasamyutta°.	Sammohavinodanīa°.
Salāyatanamahāvārasamyutta°.	Pañcapakaraṇaa°.
Nidānakhandhavārasamyutta°.	

The *Cullagānṭhavaṃsa* of Nandapaṇṇā gives the following list :—

- (1.) Visudhimagga.
 (2.) Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, commentary of Dighanikāya.
 (3.) Papañcasūdanī, „ Majjhimanikāya.
 (4.) Pakāsinī „ Samyuttanikāya.
 (5.) Manorathapūṇī, „ Aṅguttaranikāya.
 (6.) Samantapāsādikā, „ Pañcavinayagantha.
 (7.) Paramatthakathā, „ Sattābhiddhammagantha.
 (8.) Kaṅkhavitaranīvisuddhi, „ Pātimokkha.
 (9.) Khuddakapāṭhaa°. (10.) Dhammapadaa°. (11.) Jātakaa°. (12.) Suttanipâtāa°. (13.) Apādānaa°. ¹

¹ The existing *Aṭṭhakathās* are thus enumerated by Childers :—

(1) *Samantapāsādikā* [commentary on the Vinaya]; (2) *Kaṅkhavitaranī*.

The first great work of Buddhaghosa, the *Visuddhimagga*,¹ has been appropriately termed a "marvellous production," and if he had written nothing else, it alone would have secured him undying fame. But when we scrutinise his numerous commentaries and become conscious of the genius they display, we are almost staggered with the immensity of his work. He, says Professor Childers, was "one of the most extraordinary men that Buddhism has produced. Buddhaghosa did not confine himself to translating Mahendra, but incorporated other old Sinhalese chronicles existing in his time, and added immense contributions, chiefly exegetical, of his own. Much of the matter his commentaries contain is as old as the Tripitaka itself, while, like the Tripitaka, they are rich in history and folklore, and abound in narratives which shed a flood of light on the social and moral condition of ancient India." No doubt, he has left a rich legacy of literature to Burma, Siam, and Ceylon. Suvannabhūmi in particular has good reason to be proud of him. Siam derived the Buddhist scriptures from her, as is clear from Talaing chronicles, and the debt of gratitude which Burma owed to Ceylon was sufficiently repaid when, after the total destruction of Sinhalese Buddhist literature by the Malabars in the twelfth century, she was able to return to that sacred island a copy of the very books she had borrowed seven cen-

[c. on Patimokkha]; (3) *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* [c. on Dighanikāya]; (4) *Papañcasūdanī* [c. on Majjhimanikāya]; (5) *Sāratthappakāsinī* [c. on Saṃyuttanikāya]; (6) *Manorathapūraṇī* [c. on Aṅguttaranikāya]; (7) *Paramatthajotikā* [c. on Khuddakanikāya and Suttanipāta]; (8) *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*; (9) *Paramatthadīpanī* [c. on Udāna, Vimānavatthu, Petarattu, and Theragāthā]; (10) *Abhidhammatthadīpanī* [c. on Ittiyuttaka]; (11) *Jātakatṭhakathā*; (12) *Saddhammapajjotikā* [c. on Niddesa]; (13) *Saddhammapakkāsinī* [c. on Patisambhidā]; (14) *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* [c. on Apādana]; (15) *Madhuratthavilāsinī* [c. on Buddhavaṃsa]; (16) *Cariyāpīṭakatṭhakathā*; (17) *Atthasālinī* [c. on Dhammasaṅgani]; (18) *Sammohavinodanī* [c. on Vibhaṅga]; (19) *Pañcappakaranatṭhakathā* [c. on the Five Pakaraṇas].

¹ No Talaing record makes mention of any work of Buddhaghosa prior to the *Visuddhimaggā*.

turies before and preserved with the most jealous care.¹ Buddhaghosa, it seems to me, was but a thera of profound knowledge in the estimation of the Sinhalese until their scriptures were restored to them. Then only was he magnified into a legendary personage and made the hero of a mythical romance.

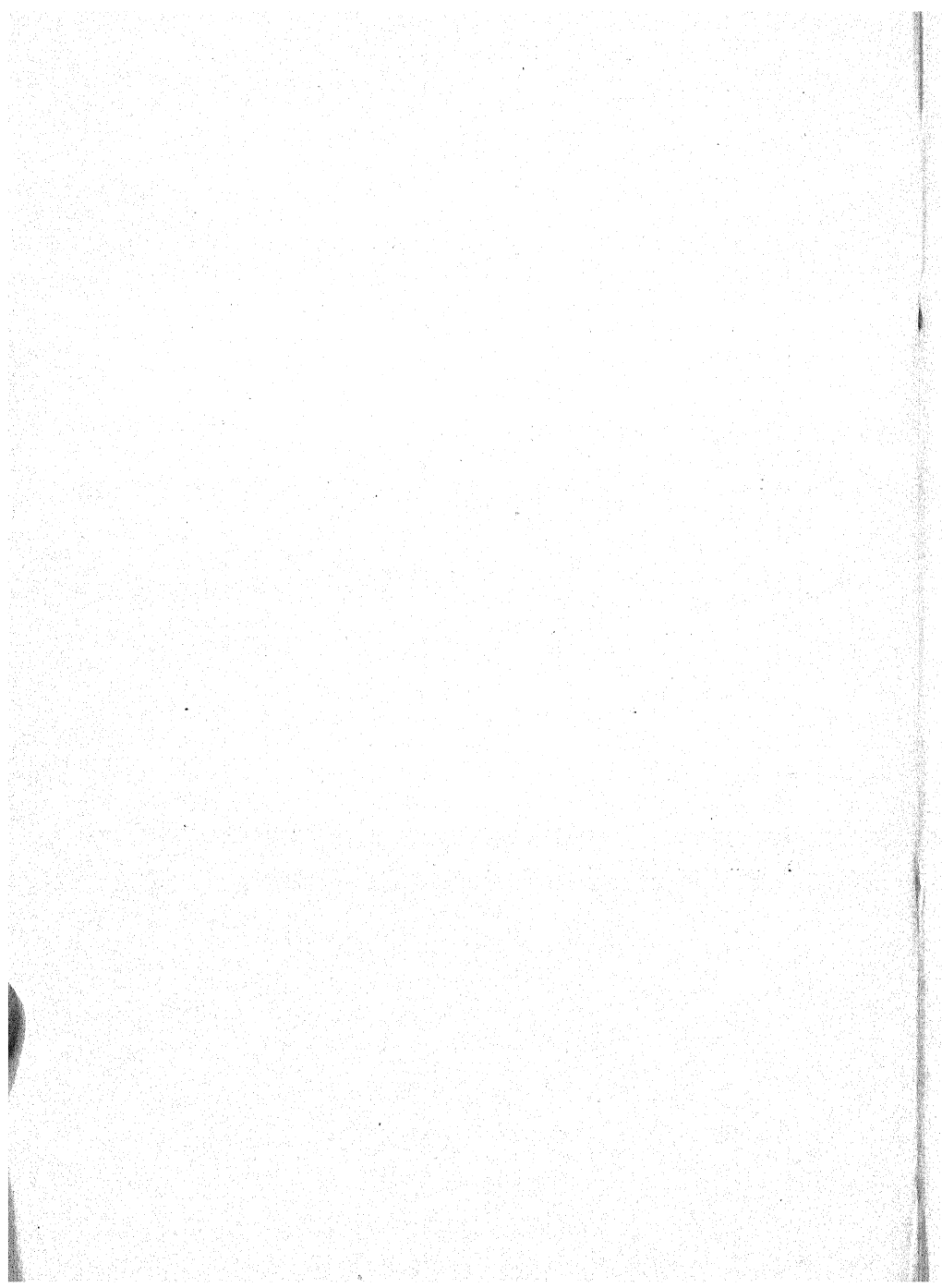
THE AGE OF THE *BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI*.

I have not been able to obtain anything but the vaguest information in Burma with regard to Mahāmaṅgala and the age of the *Buddhaghosuppatti*. I have, however, to express my indebtedness to the Director of Public Instruction, Colombo, for the following communication:—"There is no record of a Sinhalese author by the name of Mahāmaṅgala, but there was a man by the name of Maṅgala and two men by the name of Sumaṅgala. Maṅgala was not the author of any existing works, but was the tutor of Vedeha, the author of Sidatsaṅgarava, Rasavāhini, and Samantakūṭavannaṇa. He lived in the thirteenth century." It is out of the question to identify the author of *Buddhaghosuppatti* with one of the Sumaṅgalas, especially with the writer of the two well-known *Ṭikās*, but in the absence of more precise information, I am disposed to identify him with Maṅgala, the tutor of Vedeha. The

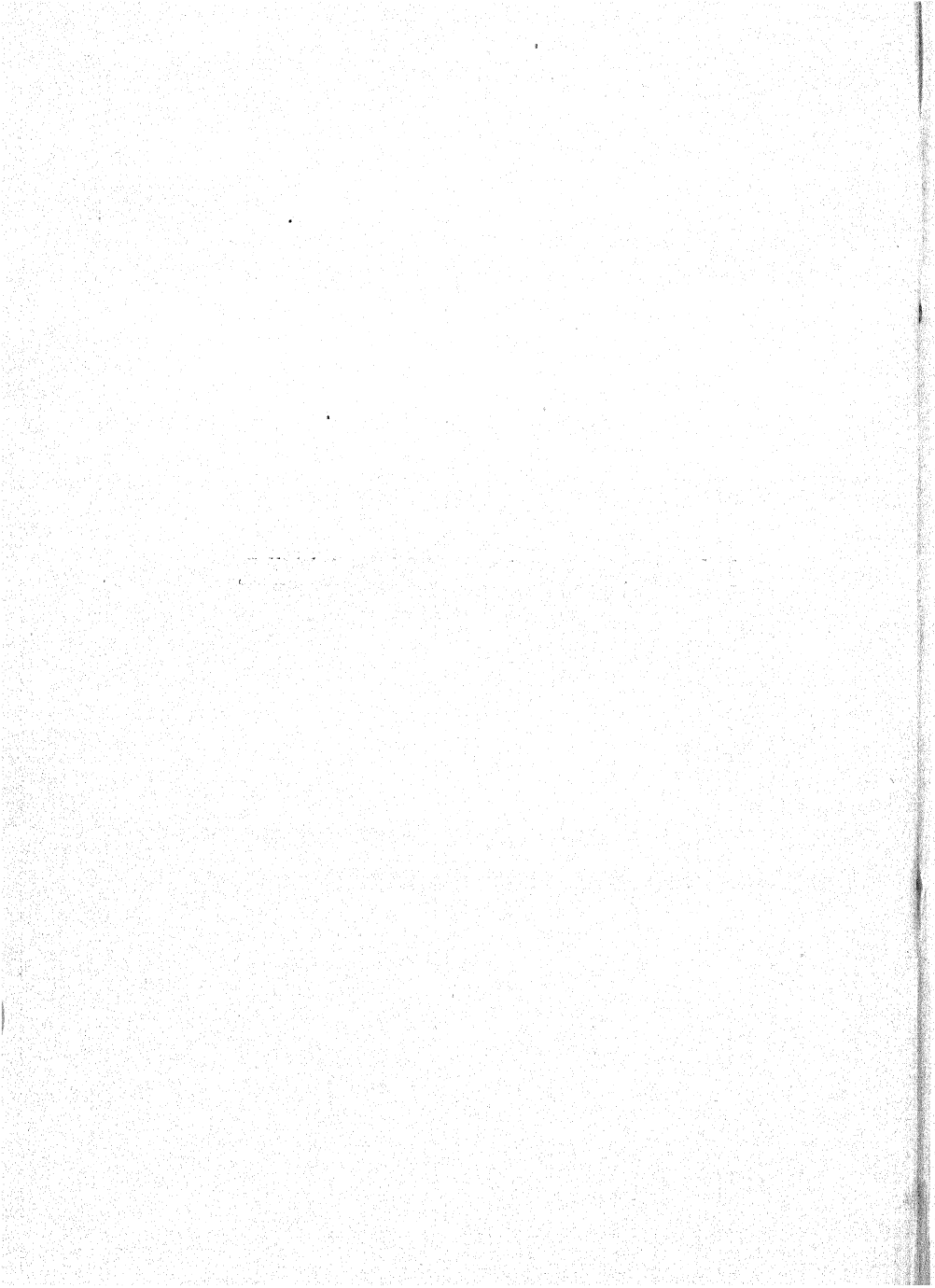
¹ Buddhaghosa's commentaries as they now exist in Ceylon were taken over from Pagan in Burma. No copy of them could have been kept by the Sinhalese priests after he first compiled them, otherwise Fa Hian, who visited Anurādhapura after Buddhaghosa, would most certainly have mentioned them, and taken at least a copy of the commentary on the Vinaya. Mahinda's commentaries, which were of little use to the Chinese pilgrim, must have existed then. The exact manner of the disappearance of Mahinda's writings has never yet been satisfactorily explained. If Mahāmaṅgala, who says he writes "yathābhūtaṃ" ("according to reality"), is to be credited, they were consigned to the flames when Buddhaghosa had compiled his own commentaries; but the allusion in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (chap. vii.) to the burning of the manuscripts seems to me allegorical of their destruction by the Malabar conquerors of Ceylon. It is possible, however, that Mahāmaṅgala refers only to the particular copy that Buddhaghosa had made use of.

internal evidence of the text, as resting chiefly on the allusion to the burning of Mahinda's manuscripts, and interpreted by me as referring to the destruction of them by the Malabars, points approximately to the thirteenth century as the period when the Piṭakas and their commentaries were taken to Ceylon from Burma, and Buddhaghosa looked upon as some extraordinary person by the Sinhalese, and made the hero of a legendary narrative.

That the text is comparatively old is evidenced by the ridiculously corrupt form in which the Sanskrit stanzas (chap. vii.) have come down. It is well known that Sanskrit in Burma, during the last three centuries, or perhaps even more, has been appropriately transliterated by means of the usual Burmese characters, with the addition of a few conventional symbols. This conventional system was evidently unknown when the *Buddhagosuppatti* was transcribed for Burmese use. But the difficulty still is, How happens it that Mahāmaṅgala and his work are not known in Ceylon? Did the thera write the work in Pagan, intending it to be taken to Ceylon, but not live to do so? That he was a Sinhalese is indicated in a gloss which renders "imasmiṃ patitṭhahati" at the commencement of chapter i. of the text by "imasmiṃ Laṅkādiṭṭhahati." The question also suggests itself, Could this Maṅgala or Mahāmaṅgala have been associated with the conveyance of the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries from Burma to Ceylon?



BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI.



BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

INTRODUCTION.

Vanditvā ratanattayaṃ sabbapāpavāhanaṃ
Buddhaghosassa uppattiṃ vaṇṇayissāmi¹ yathābhūtaṃ :
bhavantā sādhave tumhe sappurisā samāgatā
aññañña kammaṃ pahāya taṃ² suṇātha samāhitā ;
yo ca sutvāna saddhammaṃ vāceti³ api sikkhati
diṭṭhe dhamme ca pāsaṃso pacchā nibbānapāpuṇi ;
tasmā suṇeyya sakkaccaṃ Sammāsambuddhavaṇṇitaṃ
Buddhaghosassa nidānaṃ saggamokkhasukkhāvahan ti.

CHAPTER FIRST.

BOYHOOD.

EVAM iddhiyādihi saddhiṃ āgantvā paṭhamam tāva⁴
āyasmā Mahindathero sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānato
dvinnam vassasatānañca upari chattiṃ same vasse ca
imasmim⁵ patitṭhati. Patitṭhahitvā ca⁶ yāvatāyukaṃ
tiṭṭhamāno bahūnam vācetvā bahūnam hadaye patitṭha-
petvā anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyi. Tassa
aparabhāge Buddhaghoso nāma thero uppajji. Tassa ca
uppannabhāvo katham veditabbo. Ekasmim kira samaye
Ghoso nāma gāmo mahābodhito avidūre ahosi. Kasmā
bahūnam gopāladārakānam bahullanivāsanaṭṭhānabhūtattā⁷
gāmassa Ghosagāmo nāma ahosi. Tasmim aññataro⁸ rājā

¹ P.S.P. vaṇṇayissāmi.

² S.D.P. daṃ = idaṃ.

³ S.D.P. vāceti,

P. vācāhi.

⁴ Pathamam tāva is the reading of the B.F.L. MS.; other MSS. have patitṭhanto'ca.

⁵ Imasmim = imasmim Sihalādiye.

⁶ Pana.

⁷ B.F.L. bahullasannipātathānabhūtattā.

rajjam kâresi. Tassa Kesî nâma brâhmaṇo purahito
setṭhagaru pi ahosi piyo manâpo. Tasseva bhariyâ Kesinî
nâma ahosi. Tenâhu porâṇâ—

Kesî ca nâma brâhmaṇo rañño ca vallabho piyo
vedattayaṃ sikkhâpeti rājānaṃcine dine dine ;
tasseva Kesinî nâma brâhmaṇi ca visâradi
Brâhmaṇassa piyâ hoti garuṭṭhâ va¹ anālasâ ti.

Yadâ pana pariyattisâsanasseva Sihaḷabhâsâya kathitattâ
aññe pariyattisâsanam na vijānanti, tadâ aññataro thero
iddhipatto mahâkhināsavo taṃ kâraṇam jānitvâ cintesi—
“Ko nâma mahâthero Bhagavato pariyattisâsanam Siha-
ḷabhâsâya parivattetvâ Mâgadhabhâsâya kathessatî” ti.
Cintetvâ ca pana Ghosadevaputtam Tâvatimsabhavane
vasantaṃ Bhagavato pariyattisâsanam Sihaḷabhâsâya pari-
vattetvâ Mâgadhabhâsâya kathetum samatthan ti addasa.²
Cintanantaram eva Tâvatimsabhavane Sakkassa devarañño
pâturahosi.

Sakko pi taṃ theram vanditvâ pucchi—“Kiṃkâraṇâ
bhante âgatosi” ti. So pi “Dâni Mahârâjâ Bhagavato
sâsanam aññehi dubbijānam³ hoti Sihaḷabhâsâya kathi-
tattâ ; Ghosadevaputto nâma pana eko devo Tâvatim-
sabhavane santo so pi⁴ tihetukapaṭisandhipañño⁴ pub-
babuddhesu katasambhâro samattho Bhagavato sâsanam
Sihaḷabhâsâya parivattetvâ Mâgadhabhâsâya⁵ kathetun ”
ti âha.

Sakko pi “Tena hi bhante âgamehi” ti vatvâ Ghosa-
devaputtassa santikaṃ gantvâ âlīṅgetvâ âha “Mârisa
devaputta eko mahâthero tvaṃ⁶ ârâdhetvâ manussalokaṃ
gamitum icchati” ti.

So “Dēvarāja ahaṃ uparidevalokaṃ gamitum icchāmi ;
kasmā manussaloke nivāso nāma bahuddukkho bahupā-
yāso ; tena manussalokaṃ na gacchāmi ; yadi pana

¹ B.F.L. visuddhatâ for garuṭṭhâ va.

² Three MSS. have adassa.

³ B.F.L., S.D.P. duvijānam.

⁴ B.F.L. tihetukapaṭisandhi nâma

sappañño. ⁵ B.F.L. adds mûlabhâsâya. ⁶ S.D.P. tvaṃ, B.F.L. taṃ.

Bhagavato sâsanam aññehi dubbijânâ¹ hoti aham pi manussalokam gamissâmi” ti anujâni.

Sakko devarâjâ tassa pañiññam gahetvâ therassa pañi-vedesi. So thero devaputtassa pañiññam laddhâ puna âgacchi..

Tadâ so thero Kesibrâhmanasahâyo kulupako ahosi. Vibhâtâya rattiyâ pattacivaram âdâya gantvâ Brâhmanassa gehe paribhujji. Bhuttâvasâne brâhmanam âha—“ Ajja-divasato² patthâya sattame divase mâ pamajja; tava putto bhavissati mahâpuñño mahâpuñño ” ti vatvâ ca pana pakkami.

Sattame divase Ghosadevaputto adhiṭṭhalitvâ kâlâraṁ katvâ Kesinîyâ brâhmanîyâ kucchimhi paṭisandhim gaṇhi. Dasamâsaccayena gabbhato nikkhami. Nikkhamanukâlâ ca dâsakammakarâdayo brâhmanaparisa aññamaññaṁ sundaraghosasaddâni “khâdatha pivathâ” tiâdini pavattayimsu. Tenassa Ghosakumâro ti nâmaṁ akamsu.

So pi sattavassiko hutvâ vedaṇi ca uggahetvâ sattavassabbhantare yeva tiṇṇam vedaṇam³ nipphattiṁ pâpuṇi. Ekasmiṁ divase Ghosabrâhmanakumâro Bissanukhandhe nisiditvâ mâsam bhuñjati.⁴ Atha nam Ghosakumâram Bissanukhandhe nisiditvâ mâsam bhuñjantaṁ disvâ aññe brâhmanâ atikuddhâ “Hare⁵ Ghosakumâra kasmâ tvaṁ ambhakaṁ⁶ âcariya Bissanukhandhe⁷ nisiditvâ⁸ mâsam bhuñjasi” ti. “Api ca attano garubhâvamattaṁ na jânâti kathaṁ tvaṁ tayo vede jânissasi”⁹ ti âhamsu. So Bissanukhandhe nisiditvâ mâsam bhuñjanto yeva Bissanukiccaṁ pucchanto gâthamâha—

Mâso va bisanu nâma ko¹⁰ bisanû ti vuccati
ubhayesu ca etesu kathaṁ jânâmi bisanû ti.

Tam sutvâ brâhmanâ aññamaññaṁ mukhaṁ olokayamânâ paṭivacanam dâtuṁ asamatto¹¹ apaṭibhânâ va ahesuṁ. Athaññe¹² brâhmanâ tam Kesibrâhmanam ârocesuṁ.

¹ B.F.L. dujânâra. ² S.D.P. ajjato. ³ S.D.P. bhuñji. ⁴ S.D.P. are.

⁵ B.F.L. âcariyo hutvâ Bisanukhandhe.

⁶ S.D.P. and P. na jânâsi.

⁷ S.D.P. atha.

Kesibrâhmaṇo attano puttam pucchi—"Kiṃ tâta evaṃ karosî" ti.

"Âma tâtâ" ti.

Kesibrâhmaṇo brâhmaṇe ¹palobhetvâ "Maṃ passatha, mâ kujjhi; so taruṇo, kiñci na jânâsî" ti uyyojesi.

Ekasmiṃ divase Kesibrâhmaṇo rājānaṃ vedam sikkhâpetum attano puttam gahetvâ sikkhanatthâya gato hoti. Ghosabrâhmaṇakumâro gamitum ajacammaṃ âsanam gahetvâ pitarâ saddhim gato hoti. So rājānaṃ sikkhanto yeva ekasmiṃ vedapadese gaṇṭhiṭhānaṃ patvâ attham vâ adhippāyaṃ vâ ajānitvâ kaṅkho hutvâ rājānaṃ âpucchitvâ attageham punāgacchî.

Ghoso attano pitaram gaṇṭhiṭhānaṃ ajānantam ñatvâ attano paññāya tam gaṇṭhiṭhānaṃ ²uttānaṃ katvâ potthake likhitvâ ṭhapesi. So pi Kesibrâhmaṇo tam akkharam disvâ va vedānaṃ atthaṇca adhippāyaṇca ñatvâ tuṭṭho hoti. Tassa brâhmaṇassa tam gaṇṭhiṭhānaṃ manasi pākataṃ hoti. Atha so Kesibrâhmaṇo parijane ³pucchi—"Idam akkharam nāma kena likhitan" ti.

Parijanâ âhaṃsu—"Tâta tam akkharam nāma kena ²tava puttana likhitan" ti.

Kesibrâhmaṇo attano puttam pucchi—"Tâta tam akkharam nāma tayâ likhitan" ti.

"Âma tâtâ" ti vadati.

So ativiya tuṭṭho attano puttam pasamsanto dve gâthâyo abhâsi—

Tvam yeva daharo hoti paññavâ ti ca pākato
yassa tvam tâdiso putto so seṭṭho va januttamo.

Tvaṇca dâni sukhî hosi amaro viya saṇṭhito ³
tvam yeva me pitâ hosi, aham te puttasaṇṇibho ti.

Evaṃ pi so attano puttam pasamsitvâ rājānaṃ âroceti. Rājâ tam sutvâ ativiya tuṭṭho tam âliṅgetvâ anke ⁴katvâ

¹ S.D.P. parijanam.

² B.F.L. P. tena.

³ B.F.L. attato.

⁴ S.D.P. aṅge. B.F.L. omits anke katvâ.

sîsam cumbitvâ âha—"Tâta tvaṃ mama putto hosi; ahaṃ
te pitâ " ti vatvâ imaṃ gâtham âha—

Varapañño tuvaṃ tâta brâhmaṇesu ca uttamo;
paññâya te pamodâmi; dammi te varagâmaṇaṃ ti.

iti Buddhaghosakumârabhûtaṃ
paṭhamapariçchedavaṇṇanâ
samattâ.

CHAPTER SECOND.

ADMISSION TO THE PRIESTHOOD.

TATO paṭṭhāya brāhmaṇa-Ghosakumārassa vedam ug-gaṇhantassa divase divase ca chasahassavedapadāni¹ vâcuggatāni honti. Athekadivase Kesibrāhmaṇasabhāyo mahāthero attano pakatiyā bhojanatthāya geham gantvā gehamajjhe tiṭṭhati. Atheko māṇavo Ghosabrāhmaṇakumārassa āsanam āharitvā paññāpetvā mahātherassa adāsi. Mahāthero upekkhako va hutvā Ghosabrāhmaṇakumārassa āsane nisīdi. Atha kho Ghosabrāhmaṇakumāro tam mahātheram attano āsanne nisinnam disvā ativiya kodho hutvā palāṭaṇaṇṇutṭhabbhujago² viya ahosi. So tam kujjhivā avisahanto mahātheram akkosi—“Ayaṃ muṇḍasamaṇo alajjī attano pamāṇam na jānāti; kasmā me pitā bhojanam dāpesi; kinnu ayaṃ imam vedam jānāti udāhu aññam mantam jānāti” ti. Paribhāsitvā ca pana evam cintesi—“Aham bhuttāvim onītapattapāṇim³ muṇḍasamaṇam imam vedam pucchissāmi” ti.

Atha so mahātheram bhuttāvionītapattapāṇim nisinnam pucchi—“Bhante muṇḍa tvaṃ vedam jānāsi udāhu⁴ aññam mantan” ti.

Mahāthero tam sutvā ativiya haṭatutṭho⁵ hutvā āha—“Tāta Ghosa aham tumhākam vedam jānāmi, aññam mantam pi jānāmi” ti.

So āha—“Yadi vedam jānāsi tvaṃ sajjhāyaṃ karohi” ti.

Atha mahāthero tayo vede sajjhāyivā tiṇṇam vedānam ādimajjhantam⁶ āmasitvā⁶ paṇḍitena viṇivedam jāṭasut-

¹ P. satṭhi for cha.

² B.F.L. -bhujagindo.

³ S.D.P. has nihata =

nihaṭa for onīta.

⁴ S.D.P. adds kim.

⁵ S.D.P. and P. omit haṭa.

⁶ S.D.P. āmassitvā.

tañ gulamīva vedañ susaṇṭhapetvā sajjhāyi. Sajjhāyanā-
vasāne attano kamaṇḍalunā¹ udakena² mukhañ vikhāletvā
va nisīdi.

So tañ disvā lajjī hutvā punāha—“Bhante muṇḍa ahañ
tava mantañ jānitum icchāmi; tava mantañ sajjhāhi” ti.

Mahāthero tañ pasādentō Abhidhammamātikāñ sajjhāyi kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā ti. Ādito va tiṇṇaṃ mātikānaṃ atthañ vibhajanto³ āha—“Tāta Ghosa kusalañ nāma anavajjīṭṭhavipākakalakkhaṇaṃ akusalaviddhaṃ sanarasaṃ vodānapaccupatṭhānaṃ itṭhavipākapaḍaṭṭhānaṃ⁴ sugatisampāpakaṃ; sāvajjānīṭṭhavipākakalakkhaṇaṃ akusalaṃ avodānabhāvarasaṃ ayonisomanasikārapadaṭṭhānaṃ duggatisampāpakaṃ; tadubhayaviparitalakkhaṇaṃ⁵ abyākataṃ avipākārahaṃ vā kusalākusalapaggahena.⁶

Sadā kusaleṇa ca yaṃ kusalaṃ catubhūmakāṃ
muninā vasinā lapitaṃ lapitaṃ ṭhapitaṃ mayā
“pāpāpesu pāpeṇa yaṃ vuttaṃ pāpamānaṃ
“pāpāpapahīneṇa taṃ mayā samudāhaṃ;”⁷

kriyākriyāpattivibhāgedesako
kriyākriyācittam avoca yaṃ jino
hitāhitānaṃ kriyākriyato kriyā-
kriyaṃ⁸ tantu mayā⁹ samīritaṃ⁸ ti.

^{1,2} S.D.P. kamaṇḍalunodakena. ³ B.F.L. and S.D.P. have vibhajjanto.

⁴ B.F.L. adds yonisomanasikārapadaṭṭhānaṃ vā. ⁵ S.D.P. tadubhayaṃ viparitalakkhaṇaṃ abyākataṃ. ⁶ B.F.L. pakatena for paggahena.

⁷ S.D.P. gives these stanzas as follows :—

Sadā kusalesu kusaleṇa ca yaṃ kusalaṃ catubhumigataṃ
muninā vasinā lapitaṃ lapitaṃ sakalaṃ pi mayā
pāpāpesu pāpeṇa yaṃ vuttaṃ pāpamānaṃ
pāpaṃ pāpahīneṇa taṃ mayā samudāhaṃ.

B.F.L. has “lapitaṃ bhāsitaṃ” for “lapitaṃ lapitaṃ” and “bhumikaṃ” for “bhūmakāṃ.”

⁸ S.D.P. has—

Kriyākriyāpattivibhāgedesako
kriyākriyācittam avoca yaṃ jino
hitāhitānaṃ kriyākriyato
kriyākriyaṃ tantu mayā smīritaṃ.

° Ettâvatâ ekavîsatividham kusalam, dvâdasavidham akusalam, chatimsavidham¹ vipâkam, visatividham kriyâ-cittan ti vatvâ saddhammam desesi.²

Ghoso Abhidhammamâtikam sutvâ pi muyhitvâ vadati—"Bhante tuyham manto ko nâmâ" ti.

"Tâta ayaṃ Buddhamanto nâma" ti.

So âha—"Buddhamanto nâma gahatthena³ mâdisena sikkhitabbo" ti.

So âha—"Buddhamanto nâma mâdisena pabbajitena sikkhitabbo;⁴ kasmâ gahatthassa aparisuddhattâ bahu-palibodhattâ câ" ti.

Athekasmiṃ divase Ghoso tîsu vedesu thânanânam sallaikkhetvâ âdimajjam passitvâ va no antam passatî ti cintetvâ udânam udânesi—

Buddhamanto nâma anaggho, Buddhamanto me pi ruccati ;
Buddhamantam âgamma sabbadukkhâ pamuccan ti.

Cintetvâ ca pana mâtapitaro vanditvâ pabbajam yâci. So⁵ tehi paṭikkhitto ca punappunam yâcitvâ puna âha—"Tâta aham mahâtherassa santike pabbajitvâ Buddhamantaṃ pariyâpuṇitvâ manasi vâcuggataṃ katvâ⁶ vibhramitvâ punâgatombhî" ti.

Atha mâtapitaro saha pûjâya tam⁷ gahetvâ mahâtherassa upassayaṃ netvâ paṭivedesum—"Bhante ayan te nettâ; tava santike pabbajitukâmo; tam pabbâjethâ"⁸ ti.

Tadâ so tassa kesamassum ohâretvâ allacandanacunnehi gihigandham jhâpetvâ setavattham nivâsetvâ tacakammaṭ-thânam datvâ pabbajesi.

"Bhante tacakammaṭthânam nâma kataman" ti.

"Kesâ lomâ nakhâ dantâ taco" ti âha. "Api ca tacakammaṭthânam⁹ nâma sabbabuddhehi avijahitaṃ; sabba-buddhâ hi nâma bodhipallanke nisinnâ va tacakammaṭ-

¹ P. bāttimsa.

² P. and B.F.L. deseti.

³ S.D.P. gahatthena.

⁴ B.F.L. adds na tumhâdisena.

⁵ S.D.P. so Ghoso. B.F.L. has So te asampaṭicchantâ mâtapitaro punappunam. . . .

⁶ B.F.L. punarâgamî.

⁷ For saha pûjâya tam B.F.L. reads sapathe hadeyyadhammena.

⁸ B.F.L. and S.D.P. pabbajehi.

⁹ B.F.L. tacapañcakakammaṭthânam.

thānaṃ nāma nissāya ¹tilakkhaṇena ñānaṃ otāretvā
arahattaphalaṃ ²sacchākaṃsu; tenāha Bhagavā—

Tacakammaṭṭhānaṃ nāma ¹sammāsambuddhadesitaṃ;
tacakammaṇa āgamma sabbadukkhā pamuccati;
tasmā kareyya bhāvaṇaṃ pavaraṃ sādhusammatāṃ;²
tacakammaṇa bhāvento ³nibbānaṃ adhigacchati ti.

So pi taṃ sutvā tacakammaṭṭhānaṃ bhāvento tisu
saraṇesu paṭiṭṭhāya dasasilāni ⁴samādiyitvā pañcasu kam-
maṭṭhānesu tilakkhaṇaṃ uppādetvā ⁵Buddhasāsaṇaṃ acala-
pasādo hutvā Buddhasāsaṇaṃ saddahitvā taṇca therāṃ
āha—“Bhante Buddhasāsaṇaṃ nāma saṃsāraṇaṃ antakar-
aṇaṃ sabbabhavesu vaṭṭadukkhavināsa-kāraṇaṇaṃ mayhaṃ
ñātaṃ; mayhaṃ vedā nāma asārā tucchā adhuvā; bud-
dhādīhi ariyehi ¹chattitabbā” ti.

So ca pabbajjaṃ labhi. Tato paṭṭhāya so divase divase
ca saṭṭhipadasahassāni vācuggatāni katvā ekamāseneva
tīṇi piṭakāni pariyaṇitvā niṭṭhapesi. So ca tīṇi piṭakāni
niṭṭhapetvā paripunnavaṇṇaṃ va laddhupasampado hutvā
catūsu paṭisambhidāsu avihataññaṃ hoti. So ca sakala-
jambudīpe Buddhaghosaṃ ti nāmena pākaṇo hoti. So ca
devamanussānaṃ piyo hoti manāpo. Tenāhu porāṇā—

Mahābodhisampamhi jāto brāhmaṇakulesu
Buddhaghosaṃ ti nāmena Buddhō viya mahitale;
pūjito naradevehi brāhmaṇehi pi pūjito
pūjito bhikkhusaṃghehi; niccaṃ labhati pūjitaṃ ti.

iti Buddhaghosaṇaṃ matherassa pabbajitassa ācari-
yapajjhāyehi laddhupasampadassa
dutiya-paricchedavaṇṇanā samattā.

¹ S.D.P. makes the first pāda “Tacakammaṇaṃ nāma varaṇaṃ.” ² S.D.P.
and B.F.L. sārassammatāṃ, in the former sādhu being corrected to sāra.

³ B.F.L. karonto.

⁴ S.D.P. dasasilāṃ.

⁵ S.D.P. upaṭṭhapetvā.

CHAPTER THIRD.

HIS FATHER'S CONVERSION.

ATHEKADIVASE rahogatassa ^a paṭisallinassa cetoparivitakko udapâdi—"Mayham paññâ Buddhavacanena adhikataro udâhu upajjhâyassa adhikataro" ti. Tadâ so upajjhâyo malâkhiñāsavo cetasâ cetoparivitakkamaññâya—"Etarahi Buddhaghosa tava takko mayham na ruccati; yadi tvaṃ vitakkesi samaṇasâruppo nâma na hoti; khamâpehi me khippan" ti âha.

So pi upajjhâyassa vacanam sutvâ bhîtacitto saṃvegapatto taṇca abhiyâcitvâ—"Ayaṃ mama sâvajjo, khamatha me bhante" ti âha.

Upajjhâyo—"Yadi tvaṃ khamasi mayham tvaṃ Laṅkā-dīpaṃ gantvâ Buddhavacanam Sihaḷabbhāsato apānetvâ Māgadhabhāsāya karoḥi; tadāham tayâ khamito bhavissāmi" ti vatvâ tuṇhī ahoṣi.

So âha—"Yadi tvaṃ icchasi mayham Laṅkā-dīpaṃ gantum icchāmi; bhante yāva pītaṃ micchādītṭhito mocessāmi tāva ^badhivāselī" ti; vatvâ ca pana upajjhāyaṃ āpucchitvâ attano gehaṃ gato.

Kesībrāhmaṇo attano puttāṃ disvâ cintesi—"Idāni mama putto gihi bhavissasi; mayham puttassa mukhaṇca pasīdati" ti. Tuṭṭho taṃ pucchi—"Idāni vibbhamitvā gihi bhavissatī" ti.

So taṃ sutvâ tuṇhī ahoṣi. So attano vasaṇaṭṭhānaṃ gantvâ dve gabbhakuṭṭiya kâretvâ upari iṭṭhakāhi chadānaṃ katvâ ¹ mattikāhi limpāpetvâ va ^cbadarena ^dsaṅkhāretvâ ² ekasmiṃ gabbhe anto ca bahi ca dve aggaḷāni

¹ P. and B.F.L. bhittisu.

² B.F.L. has "āsanaṃ pattharitvā" for "va badarena saṅkhāretvā."

yojetvâ aggikapâlatandulodakakhiradadhisappiâdini¹ ca
 thapetvâ yantaṃ yojetvâ attano pītaṃ antogabbhaṃ
 pavisaṃpetvâ yantayuttana dvāraṃ pidahāpesi.

Kesibrāhmaṇo pucchi—“Tāta ahaṃ te pitā, kasmā
 evaṃ karosī” ti.

So āha—“Saccaṃ me tvaṃ pitā asi; api ca tvaṃ mic-
 chādītthiko Buddhasāsane apasanno asaddhakosi,² tasmā
 evaṃ daṇḍaṃ akāsin” ti.

So—“Nāhaṃ micchādītthikammaṃ karomi; dvāraṃ
 me vivarāhi” ti āha.

“Yadi tvaṃ micchākammaṃ na karosi, ‘iti pi so Bha-
 gavātyādibuddhaguṇaṃ abhāsi’ ti vatvā ahaṃ dvāraṃ te
 vivarissāmi” ti āha; “tāta micchādītthikammaṃ apahāya
 kālaṇkate avicimhi nippattissasi” ti vatvā nirayabhayena
 pītaṃ tajjesi. Puna ca pītaṃ micchādītthikammena
 garahanto imāyo gāthāyo abhāsi—

Adassane morassa³ sikhino mañjubhāṇino
 kākaṃ tattha apūjeyyūṃ³ maṃsena ca phalena ca.

Yadā ca rāsasampanno moro va merum āgamā
 atha lābho ca sakkāro⁴ vāyasassa⁵ ahāyatha.

Yāva nuppajjati Buddho dhammarājā pabhaṅkaro
 tattha aññe apūjeyyūṃ³ puthu samanabrāhmaṇe.

Yadā ca rāsasampanno Buddho dhammam adesayi
 atha lābho ca sakkāro titthiyānaṃ ahāyatha.

Yathā pi⁶ khajjopanakā⁴ kālapakkhamhi rattiyaṃ
 dassayanti ca obhāsaṃ etesaṃ⁵ viya sobhato.⁶

Yadā ca rasmisampanno⁷ abbhudeti⁷ pabhaṅkaro
 atha khajjopanakānaṃ⁸ pabbā antaradhāyati.

Evaṃ khajjupasadisā⁹ titthiyaṃ pi bahū idha¹⁰
 kālapakkhupamā loke dīpayanti sakaṃ guṇaṃ.

¹ S.D.P. has kappala for kapāla and B.F.L. adds sakkara before khira.

² B.F.L. asaddho ahoṣi. ³ S.D.P. and P. apūjeyyūṃ. ⁴ So in all three MSS.

⁵ B.F.L. dassayati ca obhāso. ⁶ B.F.L. etesu viya sobhiyo.

⁷ P. and S.D. P. ambhareti. ⁸ P. and S.D.P. khaj-
 jupamasaṅghānaṃ. ⁹ B.F.L. khajjopanasamo. ¹⁰ B.F.L. puthū.

Yadâ ca Buddho lokamhi ¹ udeti amitappabhâ
nippabhâ titthiyâ honti sūriyo khajjupamo ² yathâ ti.

So pi tīpi divasāni adhvāsetvā catutthadivase attano
puttena vuttam Buddhagunam anussarivā 'iti pi so
Bhagavātyādini' vācetvā tīsu saraṇesu anavajjapasādo
hutvā—"Ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gatombhī" ti vatvā
āha—"Ayaṃ tāta Bhagavā me satthā, aliaṃ upāsako" ³
ti. So pi Buddhagunam nissāya attano diṭṭhim nibbin-
damāno sotāpattiṭṭhale patitṭhāti." ⁴

Buddhaghoṣo ca dvāraṃ vivarāpetvā attano pitaraṃ
gandhōdakena ⁵ nīhāpetvā gandhamālādīhi taṃ pūjetvā
attano dosaṃ khamāpesi.

So pi sotāpannato ⁶ paṭṭhāya sammāsambuddhaṃ pasāsi-
santo imā gāthāyo abhāsi—

¹ Setṭhabhaggehi yutto yo arahanto padakkhiṇaṃ ⁶
sabbadhammesu sambuddho so me satthā diṭṭhanto.

Vijjācaraṇasampanno sabbadhammassa sugato
sabbalokesu jānanto so me satthā diṭṭhanto.

Anuttaro yo Bhagavā purisānaṃ dammako
assānaṃ sārathi viya so me satthā diṭṭhanto ⁷ ti.

So pana attano pituvacanaṃ sutvā somanassacitto
hutvā "sādhū sādhū" ti pitaraṃ anumodī.

iti Buddhaghosena katassa micchādiṭṭhiyā
pitumocanupāyassa tatiya-pari-
chedavaṇṇanā
samattā.

¹ B.F.L. and S.D.P. lokasmim.
khajjupabha.

³ Three MSS. upāsakci.

² S.D.P. khajjupamā ; B.F.L.
⁴ S.D.P. patitṭhahi.

⁵ S.D.P. sotāpannakālato.

⁶ S.D.P. araho pana dakkhiṇaṃ.

⁷ B.F.L.
omits this stanza.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

VOYAGE TO CEYLON.

So ca tañ attano pitarañ sotâpatti-phale patitthapetvâ attano dosañ khamâpetvâ tañca âpucchitvâ upajjhâyassa santikañ punâgami. So upajjhâyena pesito yathâbhirantañ vasitvâ Laṅkāḍīpagamanatthâya tañca âpucchitvâ mahāvânijehi sadhiñ titthañ gantvâ nâvañ âruhitvâ pakkami. Tassa ca nikkhamanadvase yeva Buddhadattamahâthero pi Laṅkāḍīpato nikkhamanto. "Puna Jambudīpam āgamāmā" ti cintetvâ saha vâñijehi nâvañ âruhitvâ āgato va hoti.

Buddhaghoso pi tñi divasāni mahāsamudde nāvāya pakkanto yeva hoti. Buddhadatto pi tñi divasāni mahāsamudde nāvāya punâgami yeva. Sakkādināñ devānañ ānubhāvena dvinnāñ therānañ dve nāvā ekato saṅghatitā va hutvâ atthamsu.

Atha vâñijā nañ disvâ bhītacittā va aññamaññañ passimsu. Dvīsu thesesu Buddhaghoso bahi nikkhamanto yeva attano sahāyavâñijē bhītacitte disvâ apare vâñijē pucchi—"Bhonto tumbhākañ nāvāya ko nu pabbajito āgato atthi" ti.

Buddhadattassa pana sahāyavâñijā pi "Buddhadatto atthi" ti vadimsu.¹

Tañ sutvâ Buddhadatto bahi nikkhamitvâ therāñ passitvâ ativiya tuṭṭho pucchi—"Tvañ āvuso kinnāmosi" ti.

"So āha "Buddhaghoso" ti.

"Kahañ gatosi" ti.

"Laṅkāḍīpañ ahañ gatombi bhante" ti.

"Kimatthāya gatosi" ti.

¹ B.F.L. omits this sentence, which is somewhat inaccurately expressed in the two other MSS., both leaving out "Buddhadatto" before "atthi" ti.

“Buddhasâsanam Sīḥalabhāsāya ṭhapitaṃ; taṃ parivattetvā Māgadhabhāsāya ṭhapetum¹ gatomaḥ” ti.

So āha “Buddhasâsanam parivattetvā Māgadhabhāsāya likhitvā āgamanatthāya pesito² ahañca Jinālaṅkāradantadhātubodhivaṃsaganthe³ yeva bandhāmi, na aṭṭhakathāṭikāyo;⁴ yadi bhavaṃ sâsanam Sīḥalabhāsāya parivattetvā Māgadhabhāsāya karosi tiṇṇaṃ piṭakānaṃ aṭṭhakathāṭikāyo karohi” ti Buddhaghosaṃ ārādhetvā Sakkena devānaṃ indena attano dinnam⁵ haritakiṃ⁶ ayamayaṃ daṇḍalekhanañca silañca tassa datvā⁷ anumodi. So ca—
“Yadā te cakkhurogo vā⁸ piṭṭhirujjanaṃ vā uppajjati tadā idaṃ haritakiṃ silāyaṃ⁹ piṣetvā rujjanaṭṭhāne limpetvā tuyhaṃ rogo vūpasamati” ti¹⁰ tassa ānubhāvaṃ dassetvā tassa adāsi. So¹¹ Jinālaṅkāre tāva ādimhi—

Sukhañca dukkhaṃ samātāyupekkhaṃ
nevicchi yo kāmam akāmanītaṃ
asaṅkhātamaṃsaṅkhātasaṃbhavaṃbhavaṃ
hitvā gato taṃ sugataṃ namāmi ti.

namakāragāthaṃ sutvā āha—“Bhante tava gantho ativiya vilāsenā⁷ racito; pacchā kulaputtehi na sakkā atthaṃ jānitum, bālapurisehi dubbhiññeyyo”⁸ ti.

“Āvuso Buddhaghosa ahaṃ tayā pubbe Laṅkādiṇe Bhagavato sâsanam kâtuṃ⁹ āgatomhi” ti vatvā “Ahaṃ appāyuko, na ciraṃ jīvāmi; tasmā na sakkomi sâsanam kâtuṃ;¹⁰ tvaṃ yeva sādhu karohi” ti āha.

Evam pariyaṭṭisâsane dvinnam therānaṃ vacanapariyaṭṭisâne vāṇijānaṃ dve nāvā sayameva muñcivā gatā. Tāsu Buddhaghosassa nāvā Laṅkādiṇābhīmukhā hutvā gatā hoti; Buddhadattassa pana nāvā Jambudīpābhīmukhā hutvā gatā. Atha Buddhadatto saha vāṇijehi Jambudīpaṃ patto.

¹ S. D. P. kathetum.

² B.F.L. likkhitum pesito for likhitvā āgamanatthāya pesito.

³ S.D.P. ganthaṃ. ⁴ B.F.L. omits ṭikā. ⁵ P. and B.F.L. haritakaṃ.

⁶ B.F.L. omits anumodi, So ca. ⁷ P. ativiya lābhena; B.F.L. ativisālena.

⁸ S.D.P. duviññeyyo. B.F.L. has gaṇikā viya alaṅkārahi chādeti instead of bālapurisehi dubbhiññeyyo. ⁹ S.D.P. karitum.

Katipâham vasiṭvâ samāṇadhammaṃ pûretvâ kâlaṃ katvâ
 'Tusitapûre'¹ nibbatti. Vâṇijâ pana therassa 'catupac-
 cayanissandena kâlaṃ katvâ Tāvatisabhaṇe nibba-
 tiṃsu. Buddhaghoso pi vâṇijehi saddhiṃ Laṅkāḍīpaṃ
 patto. Dvijaṭṭhānatitthassa samīpe nāvam ṭhapetvâ vasi.

iti Buddhaghosassa Laṅkāḍīpaṃ sam-
 pattaḡamanacatutthapari-
 chedavaṇṇanā
 samattā.

¹ S.D.P. Tūssitapûre.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

BUDDHAGHOSA AS A WITNESS.

TASMIM katipâham vasante yeva anto-Laikâdipe brâhmanânam dve dâsiyo ghaṭam âdâya udakam osiñcitum gatâ.¹ Dvîsu² ekabrâhmanadâsi purato tithagatodakam³ osiñcitvâ ârohati. Tassâ pi ârohanakâle yeva ekâ brâhmanadâsi turitaturitâ va pacchato tasmim titthe gatâ yeva. Tassâ ghaṭena Orohanabrâhmanadâsiyâ ghaṭo paṭihaññamâno va bhijji.

Sâ ghaṭabhinnâ brâhmanadâsi tam kujjhivâ paribhâsitvâ—"Dâsiputtosi, gaṇikâya puttosi; goṇo viya na jânâsi" ti atirekatarassa akkosanavattthûhi³ tam akkosi.

Itarâ pi attano paribhâsam sutvâ va kuddhâ hutvâ tatheva paribhâsi tam akkocchi.⁴ Muhuttaṃ yeva sâ pi akkosanaparibhâsanakathâ dvîhi dâsihi kathitvâ ativiya⁵ aṅgatarâ⁵ bhâṇavâramattam⁶ va ahosi.

Buddhaghoso tam sutvâ cintesi—"Idha añño koci natthi; imâyo dâsiyo aññamaññam paribhâsitvâ maṃ sakkhim katvâ attano sâmikânam ârocessanti; atha maṃ pucchissanti; pucchana-kâle dassâmi" ti dvinnam paribhâsanavacanam attano potthake likhitvâ ṭhapesi—"Tâsu ekâ idisam nâma paribhâsam karoti; aparâ idisam nâma paribhâsan" ti.

Tâ pi cirataram aññamaññam atiparibhâsanena kilan-tamukhâ geham gantvâ attano sâmikânam ârocesum.

So pana ghaṭabhinnâya dâsiyâ sâmiko asantuṭṭho itarâya

¹ S.D.P. ghaṭâya udakam osiñcitvâum gatâ. B.F.L. ghaṭe âdâya udakatthâya âgatâ. ² B.F.L. Tâsu. ³ B.F.L. atirekataram dasahi akkosavattthûhi. ⁴ B.F.L. paribhâsatî, akkosati. ⁵ B.F.L. siṅghatarâ; P. asaṅgatarâ; S.D.P. aṅgatarâ. ⁶ B.F.L. bhâṇavâramattâ.

sāmikena kalaham katvā rañño vinicchayaṭṭhānaṃ¹ gantvā taṃ ācikkhi.

Rājā vinicchitvā aṭṭaṃ chindituṃ asaṃattho—"Ko nāma tumhākaṃ sakkhi" ti pucchi.

Dvīsu ekā—"Eko deva āgantuko °saṅghadaṇḍako tithe atthi; so mayhaṃ sakkhi" ti rājānaṃ saññāpesi.

Itarā pi² tameva therāṃ uddisitvā tatheva rājānaṃ saññāpesi.

Atha rājā taṃ sutvā therāṃ pucchāpetuṃ dūtāṃ³ pesesi.

Buddhaghoso pi "Dvinnaṃ brāhmaṇitthīnaṃ⁴ paribhāsanakathā mayā ekantena sutā; api ca mayāṃ pabbajitā nāma na sallakkhemā"⁵ ti avatvā⁶ attanā likhita-paribhāsanalaṅjanapothhakaṃ dūtassa hatthe datvā "Tāta idameva laṅjanapothhakaṃ rañño dassēhi" ti āha.

Dūto taṃ gahetvā rañño dassesi. Rājā taṃ vācāpetvā dve dāsiyo pucchi—"Are bhotiyo īdisā nāma paribhāsanā tumhehi saccaṃ kathitā" ti.⁷

Tā pi⁸ "Saccaṃ devā" ti āhaṃsu.

Rājā āha "Garubbhāradhārīko nāma agarubbhāradhārīkena vajjetabbo" ti; vatvā ca pana abhinnaḥṭṭhāya brāhmaṇadāsiyā daṇḍaṃ dāpesi.

Atha so rājā taṃ therāṃ daṭṭhukāmo brāhmaṇe pucchi—"So tādiso °javanapañño kahaṃ vasatī" ti.

Brāhmaṇā micchādīṭṭhikā therassa guṇaṃ maccharino—"Deva ayaṃ saṅghadaṇḍako vāṇijjattthāya āgato; tumhehi daṭṭhuṃ ananurūpo" ti āhaṃsu.

Rājā taṃ sutvā therassa guṇe pasāditvā pasāṃsanto dve gāthāyo abhāsi—

Samaṇesu ca sabbesu Laṅkādiṇe bahūsu pi
tādiso samaṇo nāma na diṭṭhapubbo yo idha.

¹ S.D.P. and P. vinicchayatābbaṭṭhānaṃ; P. vinicchayitābbaṭṭhānaṃ

² S.D.P. and P. Ekā pana.

³ S.D.P. dūte.

⁴ B.F.L. brāhmaṇi-

dāsiṇaṃ.

⁵ B.F.L. sakkhimbā.

⁶ B.F.L. vatvā.

⁷ P. "īdisaṃ

nāma paribhāsaṇaṃ tumhehi kathitaṃ saccaṃ kathitaṃ" ti.

⁸ S.D.P.

and P. dve dāsiyo instead of tā pi.

Tâdisaṃ silasampannaṃ javaññaṇaṃ ¹ mahâtapaṃ
yo ca pûjeti mâneti saggaṃ so upagacchati ² ti.

Evam̐ dvihi gâthâhi Buddhaghosassa guṇaṃ vatvâ
râjâ tuṇhî ahosi.

iti Buddhaghosena kathitassa attano
paññâya dvinnaṃ brâhmaṇadâsî-
naṃ sakkebhâvassa pañcama-
paricchedavaṇṇanâ
samattâ.

¹ S.D.P. javaññaṇaṃ.

² S.D.P. saggaṃ so ca upajjagâ.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PERMISSION TO TRANSLATE THE SCRIPTURES.

TATO patthâya thero Laṅkāḍīpavāsisaṅgharājamahātherassa vandanatthâya gato. So ca taṃ vanditvā saṅgharājamahātherassa santike Abhidhammavinaye sikkhantānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pacchato ekamantaṃ nisīdi.

Athekasmiṃ divase saṅgharājā bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhanto Abhidhamme gaṇṭhipadaṃ patvā tassa ca gaṇṭhipadassa adhippāyaṃ apassitvā ajānitvā mūlho hutvā bhikkhū uyyojento antogabbhaṃ pavāsitvā taṃ gaṇṭhipadaṃ vicāretvā nisīdi.

Tassa pana pavāsanakāle yeva Buddhaghoso Abhidhamme gaṇṭhipadaṃ ajānantaṃ mahātheraṃ űatvā utthāyāsanaṃ ¹ upasseyyaphalake ¹ gaṇṭhipadassa atthañca adhippāyañca likhitvā ṭhapetvā va attano nāvaṃ gato.

Tassa pana gaṇṭhipadassa atthaṃ punappunaṃ cintentassa atthañca adhippāyañca ajānitvā gabbhato nikkhamantassa nisinnakāle ² yeva taṃ akkharāṃ pākaṭaṃ ahosi. Divā ca pana tāpase pucchi—“Idaṃ akkharāṃ nāma kena likkhitaṃ” ti.

Tāpasā āhaṃsu—“Bhante āgantukena bhikkhunaṃ taṃ likkhitaṃ bhavissati” ti.

“So kuhiṃ gato” ti vatvā “tunhe pariyesitvā taṃ gaṇetvā mayhaṃ dassethā” ti tāpase ānāpesi.

Tāpasā pariyesamānā passitvā taṃ ārādhetvā saṅgharājassa dassesum.

So pi saṅgharājā “Idaṃ kira akkharāṃ nāma tayā likkhitaṃ” ti pucchitvā “āma bhante” ti vutte “Tena hi

¹ P. upasye ; B.F.L. apassena ; S.D.P. upasye and upassane.

² P. and S.D.P. nisīdanakāle.

tayâ tîhi piṭakehi bhikkhusaṅgho sikkhitabbo” ti bhikkhusaṅghassa ^bpaṭiniyyâdeti.¹

Buddhaghoso pi taṃ paṭikkhipi—“Nāhaṃ bhante bhikkhusaṅghe sikkhanatthāya Jambudīpato Laṅkādīpaṃ āgato Buddhasāsanam pana Sihalaḥbhāsāya parivattetvā Māgadhabhāsāya likhanatthāya āgato” ti attano āgata-kāraṇam tassa ārocesi.²

So taṃ sutvā ativiya tuṭṭho “Yadi ‘sāsanam Māgadhabhāsāya likhissāmī’ ti vatvā āgatosi.

“sile paṭiṭṭhāya naro sapañño
cittam paññaṇa bhāvayaṃ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu
ko imaṃ vijāṭaye jaṭan ti.

Bhagavatā vuttagāthāya tīhi piṭakāni yojetvā amhākaṃ dassēhi” ti āha.

So “Sādhū” ti sampāṭicchitvā attano vasanaṭhānaṃ gato.

Tasmim divase sunakkhattena vadḍhamānacchāyāya

sile paṭiṭṭhāya naro sapañño
cittam paññaṇa bhāvayaṃ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu
ko imaṃ vijāṭaye jaṭan ti.

ādiraṃ katvā Visuddhimaggapakaraṇam atilahukena likhi. Niṭṭhapetvā ca pana “ṭhapessāmī” ti niddūpagato hoti.

Atha Sakko devarājā therena ṭhapitalikhitam Visuddhimaggam thenetvā gato. Thero ca pabujjhivā attano

¹ The reading of this sentence in P. and S.D.P. is as follows :—“So pi saṅgharājā puṭṭho ‘idaṃ kira akkharam nāma tayā likhitan’ ti ; ‘āma bhante’ ti āha ; so puṭṭho tena puṭṭhasmim ‘pakatiyā tīhi piṭakehi bhikkhusaṅghā sikkhitabbā’ ti vatvā bhikkhusaṅghe tassa paṭivedesi.”

² This sentence appears as follows in P. and S.D.P. :—“Buddhaghoso pi taṃ paṭikkhipi—‘Nāhaṃ bhante bhikkhusaṅghe sikkhitum icchāmi ; Laṅkādīpaṃ āgatomhi’ ti āha ; ‘Kasmā, ahaṃ pana Jambudīpavāsi ; Tathāgata Buddhasāsanam Sihalaḥbhāsato parivattitvā Māgadhabhāsāya likhissāmī mantā gato.’”

pakaraṇaṃ adisvā puna ca paraṃ Visuddhimaggapakaraṇaṃ ativiya turitaturito dīpālakena likhi. Taṃ pi ñiṭṭhapetvā attano sīse ṭhapetvā puna niddūpagato. Sakko ca devarājā puna taṃ thenetvā gato hoti. Thero kiñci supitvā puna pabujjhivā taṃ na passi. Majjhimaṃ sampaṭṭe yeva kira Sakko devarājā dutiyavāre duvidhaṃ pakaraṇaṃ thenetvā gato.

Thero pabujjhivā taṃ adisvā turitaturito puna ca paraṃ Visuddhimaggapakaraṇaṃ dīpālakena likhi. Likhitāvasāne cīvarena bandhitvā va supati.¹ Sakko devarājā purimagahite dve pakaraṇe therassa sīse ṭhapetvā gato. Vibhātāya rattiyā pabujjhivā va attanā likhite pakaraṇe devarājena attano ussīsake² ṭhapite disvā somanasso hutvā sarīravalañjanakiccaṃ katvā dve ganthāni ādāya attano bandhitaganthena saddhiṃ Laṅkā dīpavāsisaṅgharājathe-rassa dasseti.³

Tisu ganthesu kira tisatasahassanavanahutadvesahas-sādhikāni dasasahassāni akkharāni yeva honti. So pi tīṇi disvā “acchariyabhūto “Kasmā tīṇi pakaraṇāni” ti pucchitvā “Iminā kāraṇenā” ti vutte vimhayamāno tīṇi ganthāni vācāpeti. Tisu yasmiṃ padese ye nipātopasaggā⁴ saddā therena likhitā tassa tasmiṃ padese te samasamā a-vi-sadisā likhitā viya tiṭṭhanti. Tena samasame a-vi-sadisasadise disvā ativiya somanasso va tassa “Bhagavato sāsanaṃ Māgadhabhāsāya karohi” ti anujāni. Anujānitvā ca panassa paññāya guṇaṃ pasamsanto dve gāthā abhāsi—

Yo passatīdisaṃ paññaṃ⁵ abhinnaṭṭisambhidaṃ⁶
sabbadhammesu kosallaṃ Buddhaṃ so viya passati;

tvañceva⁷ nānasampanno amhākaññeva⁸ seṭṭhaṅgo
tvaññeva⁹ sāsanaṃ tassa karassu munino sadā ti.

Tato paṭṭhāya so tasmiṃ dīpe Buddhaghoso ti nāmena Laṅkā dīpe manussānaṃ pākaṭo hoti. Tenāhu porāṇā—

¹ S.D.P. supi.

² S.D.P. usisakke; P. and B.F.L. usisagge.

³ S.D.P. dassesi.

⁴ S.D.P. nipātopasaggādayo.

⁵ B.F.L. pabhinna°.

⁶ S.D.P. tvaṃ yeva.

⁷ S.D.P. amhākaññeva.



Buddhaghoso ti námena pákaṭo sabbadipake ;
manussânāṃ sadā seṭṭho Budho viya mahitale ti.

iti Laṅkāḍīpavâsimahâtherena aj anu-
jâñitasâsanassa Buddhaghosassa
chaṭṭhamaparicchedavaṇ-
ṇanā samatī.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

OBJECT ATTAINED.

So yathâbhirantam vasitvâ¹ attano sâruppasenasanam² saṅgham yâci munindasâsanassa lekhanatthâya. Mahâthero therassa vasitum lohapâsâdam dâpesi. So kira lohapâsâdo sattabhûmiko ahosi.³ Tâsu cha bhûmiyo chahi mahâtherehi vasitâ honti. Katame cha? Eko catupârisuddhisiladharo dutiye vasati; eko dhûtāṅgadhara tatiye vasati; eko suttantadhara catutthe vasati; eko abhidhammadharo pañcame vasati; eko vinayadhara chaṭṭhe vasati; eko maggaphalatthâya tilakkhaṇabhâvanâyuttajhānadhara⁴ sattame bhûmitale vasati. Pâsâdassa heṭṭhimabhûmitalâ suññâ abhikkhukâ hoti.

Buddhaghoso panassa heṭṭhimatale suññe paṭivasati. So kira dhûtāṅgadhara hoti; sabbapariyattidharo ca hoti. Vasanto ca pana Bhagavato sâsanam dipabhâsato parivatetvâ Mâgadhabhâsâya divase divase likhi.

Puna divase so pâto va piṇḍâya caranto sayampatita-tâlappaṇnam disvâ âdâya gocaragâmato paṭikkami. Idam eva cassa vattan ti veditabbam.⁵

Athekasmiṃ divase⁶ tâlârulhakapuriso paṇḍito byatto⁷ kusallattiko tassa kiriyam disvâ achiddam akhaṇḍakam tâlappaṇnam tassa piṇḍapâtaṭhâne vikiritvâ niliyi. Thero piṇḍapâtavasâne tam âdâya gato.

So tassa anugantvâ therassa likhanakiccam disvâ pasanacitto hutvâ⁶ ekadivase⁷ bhattapacchim âdâya therassa

¹ B.F.L. viharitvâ.

² B.F.L. anurûpas°.

³ B.F.L. hoti.

⁴ S.D.P. tilakkhaṇabhâvanâya yutto jhānadhara.

⁵ P. and S.D.P.

Idameva cassa vattam.

⁶ P. and S.D.P. hoti.

⁷ P. and S.D.P.

ekadivasamhi so.

piñjesi. Thero tañca " Bho upâsaka mayham uparimatale ðhito setthataro ; tassa tava bhojanam dadâhi " ti vadati.¹

So therena anuññâto pacchim âdâya uparimatale ðhitassa mahâtherassa adâsi.

Eteneva mukhena ekabhattapacchi yâva sattamabblûmitale ðhitassa ayyassa sampapuni.

So ca uparimatale ðhito tam âha—" Hetthimatale Buddhaghoso amhehi gunavisittho ; divase divase Buddhasâsanam likhi ; tasseva dadâhi " ti.²

So tam sutvâ bhattapacchim âdâya sattabhûmitalâ oruyha Buddhaghosassa puna adâsi.

So " sâdhu sâdhû " ti sampaticchi ; sampaticchitvâ ca pana sattakotthâsena bhâjâpetvâ cha kotthâse channam therânam dâpesi. Idameva tassa vattam. So Buddhaghoso sâsanam likhanto yeva tayo mâse khepetvâ nittham gato. Vuţthavasso tato patthâya pavâretvâ attanâ likhitasâsanam sañgharâjassa³ pañivedesi.

So " sâdhu sâdhû " ti anumoditvâ ca pana tassa gunam pakâsento⁴ dve gâthâyo abhâsi—

Sâsanam nâma dullabham Buddhasetthassa bhâsitam
parivattânubhâvena tam passâma yathâsukham

yathâ pi puriso andho samâsanam na passati
tathâ mayam na passâma sâsanam Buddhabhâsitam ti.

Tato patthâya so pi Mahindatherena likhâpitâni ganthâni râsim kârâpetvâ⁵ mahâcetiyaassa samîpe parisuddhathâne jhâpesi. Sîhalabhâsâya kira Mahindatherena likhâpitâni sabbaganthâni⁵ râsikatâni ubbedhena sattamajjhimahatthipitthipamanâni hontî ti pubbâcariyâ vadantî ti amhehi sutam.

Sîhalabhâsâya katânam⁶ sabbesam ganthânam jhâ-

¹ S.D.P. has " So "Tañca bho upâsaka uparitale ðhitassa ayyassa" dadâhi vadati ; kasmâ ca pana vadâma uparitthito mayham setthataro ca hoti."

² P. and S.D.P. So ca uparitale ðhito tam âha—" Hetthimatalassa Buddhaghosassa amhehi gunavisitthassa divase divase Buddhasâsanam likhantasseva dadâhi."

³ S.D.P. sañghasseva.

⁴ P. and S.D.P.

pakâsanto. ⁵ S.D.P. sabbâni ganthâni. ⁶ P. and S.D.P. kathitânam.

panakâlato paṭṭhâya so ca attano mâtâpitûnam dassanatthâya saṅgham āpucchi—“Aham bhante Jambudīpam gamitum icchāmi” ti vatvā vāṇijehi saddhim nāvaṃ ārohitum ārabhi. Tassa attano nāvābhīrūhanakkhaṇe¹ yeva Sīhalavāsino bhikkhū² sakkaṭaganthe paṇaṭam avamaññanti—“Ayaṃ therō dhi nu³ teṭṭakam Buddha-sāsanaṃ jānāti maññe na sakkaṭaganthan” ti.

Tesaṃ avamaññavacanāṃ sutvā therassa sahāyavāṇijā tassa ārocesum.

Therō taṃ sutvā “sādhū sādhū” ti vatvā Laṅkādīpavāsino saṅgharājamaḥātherassa paṭivedesi—“Bhante sve uposathadivase puṇṇamiyaṃ ahaṃ pi sakkaṭagantham bhāsissāmi; catuparisā mahācetiyaṅgaṇe⁴ sannipātetu” ti. So pāto va parisāya majjhe sakkaṭagantham dassento dhammāsanaṃ⁵ āruya tathvā sakkaṭaganthena⁶ imā gāthāyo⁷ abhāsi—

Cattāro kira acchariyā abbhutadhammā Buddhaghose santi.⁸ Katame cattāro? Sace bhikkhuparisā Buddhaghosadassanāya upasāṅkamati dassanenassa attamanā hoti.⁹ Tatra ce Buddhaghoso dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pissa attamanā hoti. Atittā ca bhikkhuparisā hoti atha kho Buddhaghoso tuṇhī hoti. Sace bhikkhuparisā upāsakaparisā upāsikāparisā Buddhaghosadassanāya upasāṅkamati dassanena pissa attamanā hoti; tatra ce Buddhaghoso dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pissa attamanā hoti. Atittā va hoti atha kho Buddhaghos tuṇhī hoti ti evaṃ cattāro acchariyā abbhutadhammā Buddhaghose santi¹⁰ āyasmante Ānande viya, tasmā Buddhaghosassa desanākāle yeva catasso parisā attano attano vatthaceḷakamuttāhāra-vala-

¹ P. and S.D.P. nāvaṃ gatakkhaṇe.

² B.F.L. kinnu for dhi nu.

³ S.D.P. mahācetiyaṃ santike.

⁴ P. and S.D.P. dhammadesanathānaṃ.

⁵ Two texts ganthe.

⁶ B. F. L. uppajjanti.

⁷ B.F.L. uses the plural verb with parisā in this and the following sentences, and tattha for tatra.

⁸ P. and S.D.P. have the following construction after santi—cattāro acchariyā abbhutadhammā viya āyasmante Ānande santi ti tasmā, &c.

yâdîni muñcitvâ dhammapûjâya¹ therassa pâdamûle vikarîmsu. Vatthâdîni pana pûjâbhaṇḍâni kira sattahatthamajjhimalatthipitthipamâṇâni² honti.

So pana³ tâni anapekkho va hutvâ dhammâsanato⁴ oruyha saṅgham vanditvâ mahallakaṃ mahâtheraṃ âpucchitvâ vâṇijehi saddhiṃ nâvaṃ âruyha Jambudîpâbhîmukho pâyâsi. Tassa ca gatakâle yeva yâcakavaṇṇibba-kasamaṇabrâhmaṇâdayo manussâ tâni therassa dhammapûjabhaṇḍâni⁵ yathârucim yeva gahetvâ pakkamîmsu.

iti Buddhaghosaṇâmathereṇa attanâ paṇṇa-
sakkatagāthena kathitadhamma-
desanâya sattamaparicheda-
vaṇṇanâ samattâ.

¹ B.F.L. pūjento.

² P. and S.D.P. omit pitthi.

³ P. and S.D.P. pi.

⁴ P. and S.D.P. dhammadesanattānato.

⁵ P. and S.D.P. pūjāni bhaṇḍāni.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

RETURN TO INDIA.

THERO Sakkaṭaganthe attano paṭubhāvaṃ pakāsetvā Jambudīpābhimukho va hutvā samuddamajjhe āgacchanto yeva vāṇije anusāsanto dve gāthāyo abbhāsi—

Yathā ^a mayupanissāya nāvaṃ gacchāma annave
nāvā ca amhe nissāya tittihappattā bhavissati
saggaṭittham patitṭhāya paññānāvupanissāya
puññānāvupanissāma amhe sagge sukhāvahā ti.

So tittihappatto attano sahāyavāṇije āpucchitvā attano pattacīvaram ādāya upajjhāyassa santikaṃ gato. Pariyat-tisaṅkhātassa Buddhasāsanassa attanā likhitakammaṃ ācikkhi; ācikkhitvā ca pana upajjhāyadaṇḍakammaṃ mocetvā attano dosaṃ khamāpetvā taṃ vanditvā āpucchitvā va mātāpitūnaṃ santikaṃ gato hoti.

Mātāpitāro pissa attano puttaṃ disvā vanditvā paṇitena āhārena taṃ parivisitvā tassa dosaṃ khamāpetvā attano kālabbhāvaṃ natvā maraṇāsannakāle Buddhiagunaṃ anusaritvā Tusitapure nibbattitvā kanakavimāne paṭivasanti.¹ Tesāṃ pi dāsakammakarādīnaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ keci therassa ovāde ṭhatvā kālāṃ katvā devaloke nibbattiṃsu; keci yathākammaṃ gati² ahesuṃ.³

Thero pana ⁴ tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ attano paṇāmavacanāṃ dassetvā tesu sādhujaṇānaṃ pāmojjanatthāya “evaṃ pi

¹ B. Mātāpitāro pissa attano puttaṃ disvā vanditvā paṇitena āhārena parivisiṃsu. Te attano nissāya micchādittṭhiṃ pajahitvā sammadittṭhiṃ dānādīpuññaṃ katvā āyutapariyosāne kālāṃ katvā tusitapure nibbattiṃsu.

² So in P. and S.D.P.

³ The following reading occurs in B.F.L.—Tesāṃ pi dāsakammakarādayo therassa ovāde ṭhatvā kālāṃ katvā yebhūyyena devaloke nibbat-tiṃsu.

⁴ P. and S.D.P. so ca.

tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ īdiso nāma paṇāmo tumbeli kâtabbo"¹
ti vuccamāno viya² ratanattayassa³ sarūpaṃ dassento
āha—

Yo Bhagavā visuddhakhandasantāno⁴
yo va so buddho ti^b niyamāgato
dhammo nāma Bhagavatā desito
navavidho lokuttaradhammo.

Piṭakato tiṇi piṭakāni—vinayapiṭakaṃ, suttantapiṭakaṃ, abhidhammapiṭakan ti; nikāyato pañcanikāyāni—dīghanikāyo, majjhimanikāyo, saṃyuttanikāyo, aṅguttaranikāyo, khuddakanikāyo ti; aṅgato navāṅgāni—suttaṃ, geyyaṃ, gāthā, veyyākaraṇaṃ, udānaṃ, itivuttakaṃ, jātakaṃ, abbhūtaḍḍhammaṃ, vedallaṃ ti; dhammakhandhato caturāsīti dhammakhandhasahassāni; abhidhamme cattāri dasasahassāni dvisahassadhammakhandhā; vinaye dvādasasahassāni ekasahassadhammakhandhā ca; suttante dvādasasahassāni ekasahassadhammakhandhā cā ti; saṅgho cattāro maggaṭṭhā cattāro phalaṭṭhā cā ti aṭṭhannaṃ ariyānaṃ saṃūho.⁵

Iti ratanattayassa sarūpaṃ dassetvā attano paṇāmaṇca pakāsento imaṃ gāthaṃ āha—

Buddhe dhamme ca saṅghe ca kato eko pi añjali
pahomi bhavadukkhaggiṃ nibbāpetuṃ asesato ti.

So ca ratanattayassa paṇāmavāsane Bhagavato sāsanaṇca dūsanatthāya⁶ katakiccānaṃ dussilānaṃ silarakkhane asikkhitacittānaṃ⁷ jivitattthāya katakubhānaṃ kammaṇca pakāsento imā gāthāyo abhāsi—

Yathā pi hi migindassa sīhassa migarājino
tassa maṃsaṃ na khādanti^c siṅgālā sunakhādhama,
Sarīre samuppannā va kimiyo maṃsabhojanā
sīhamamsāni khādanti na aññe sāpadā migā,

¹ P. and S.D.P. kato. ² P. and S.D.P. only vatvā for vuccamāno viya. ³ S.D.P. ratanattayānaṃ. ⁴ P. and S.D.P. visuddhikāḥ.

⁵ This last sentence saṅgho—saṃūho is omitted in P. and S.D.P.

⁶ B.F.L. dassanattthāya.

⁷ B.F.L. susikkhita°. S.D.P. has asikkhitasikkhānaṃ.

tatheva sakyasiḥassa nibbûtassa pi sāsane
na dūsayanti saddhammaṃ iddhipattā pi titthiyā.
Ime va pāpabhikkhū ye muṇḍā saṅghātipārutā
te dūsayanti saddhammaṃ sammasambuddhadesitan ti.

Iti Bhagavato sāsanaṃ dūsanaṃ katakaṇṭhāya katakicānaṃ
pāpabhikkhūnaṃ yeva kammaṃ¹ pakāsaṇāvasāne puna
pi sabbesaṇca sattānaṃ rattidivesu pavattaānāpānāni²
dassento imaṃ gātham āha—

Divā sataṣaḥassāni aṭṭhasatādhikāni ca
rattinīceva tathā eva³ ānāpānaṃ pavattattī ti.

Dassetvā ca pana attano maraṇamaññe nisinno āyusaṅ-
khāraṃ vicārento³ appāyukabhāvaṃ⁴ ñatvā upajjhāyaṃ
vanditvā tañca āpucchitvā mahābodhim⁵ gantvā mahā-
bodhirukkhe sabbavattādīni pūjupakāraṇāni katvā mahā-
bodhirukkhaṃ paṃsaṃsanto dve gāthā abhāsi—

Bodhiṃ nissāya sambuddho sambuddho⁶ dvipaduttamo
bodhipatto ca so hoti 'Mārasenapamaddanā;

yo bodhiṃ ādaraṃ katvā pūjāya abhipūjayi
so ca Buddhaṃ viya pūjeti sabbadukkhā⁶ paṃuṇcaso⁶ ti.

Iti paṃsaṃsitvā so ca ekantena attano kālaṃ ñatvā
“maraṇaṃ nāma tividaṃ—samucchedamaraṇaṃ,¹ kha-
ṇikamaraṇaṃ, samutimarāṇaṃ ti; tattha samuccheda-
maraṇaṃ nāma khīṇāsavassa kālaṃ, khaṇikamaraṇaṃ
nāma anantaruppajjananiruddhānaṃ bhavaṅgādivithicī-
tānaṃ¹ kālaṃ; samutimarāṇaṃ nāma sabbesaṃ sattānaṃ
kālaṃ” ti ñatvā “Tesu mayhaṃ samutimarāṇena bhavi-
tabban” ti cintesi. Cintetvā ca pana maraṇadivase Bud-
dhagūṇena saddhiṃ attano sīlaṃ anussaramāno kālaṃ

¹ P. and S.D.P. kammaṃ.

² Pavatta does not occur in P. and S.D.P.

³ P. and S.D.P. vicāretvā.

⁴ P. and S.D.P. attano kālaṃ.

⁵ P. and S.D.P. Mahābodhisantikaṃ.

⁶ The reading of this line in

B.F.L. is :—So ca Buddhaṃ pūjeti sabbadukkhā paṃuccaye.

katvâ Tusītapure nibbattitvâ dvâdasayojanike kanakavi-
mâne devaccharasahassapirivârâ saddhiṃ paṭivasati.

Yadâ Metteyyo bodhisatto idha manussaloke sabbañ-
ñutapatto hessati tadâ so ca tassa sâvako bhavissati aggo
ca seṭṭho ca Metteyyassa Bhavagato sabbadhammesu
appaṭihatena attano ñâṇavasena. So ca sattakkhatuṃ
Metteyyena Bhagavatâ etadagge ṭhapito bhavissati—
“Mama sâvakânaṃ dhammavinayadharânaṃ bahussutâ-
naṃ ñâṇagatînaṃ ñâṇadharânaṃ yadidaṃ Buddhaghoso”
ti.

Tasmiṃ Buddhaghose pana there kâlankate yevassa
kaḷeverajhâpanatthâya samaṇabrâhmaṇâdayo sabbe deva-
manussâ candanarukkhehi citakaṃ kârâpetvâ ratanacit-
takâni agghiyâni ussâpetvâ tassa kaḷeveraṃ candanaruk-
khacitake saha suvaṇṇamañcena¹ pakkipitvâ sâdarena
jhâpayiṃsu. Tassa kaḷeverajhâpitâvasâne brâhmaṇâdayo
manussâ dhâtuyo gahetvâ mahâbodhisamîpe yeva sud-
dhesu bhûmipadesu nidahitvâ² thûpaṃ kârâyiṃsu. Te
pi sabbe therassa guṇe pasâdetvâ iminâ³ pûjânissandena
kâlankatvâ devalokesu uppajjitvâ yathâkammaṃ dibba-
sampattiyo anubhavanti⁴ ti. Etasseva Tusītapure vasan-
tassa therassa pana kâlato paṭṭhâya⁵ pubbâcariyâ dup-
paññe puggale attânaṃ pasaṃsante “paññavantamhâ” ti
maññante garahantâ tisso gâthâyo âhaṃsu—

Kâlankate Buddhaghose⁶ “kavimhâ” ti bahûtarâ
dupaññâ bâlajanâ pi cintayimṣu punappunâṃ.

Buddhaghose patitṭhante paññavantâ pi ye janâ
tesaṃ paññapabhâ natthi Râhumukhe va candimâ.

Tasmâ jaheyya medhâvî “paññavâ” ti pasaṃsanaṃ;⁷
attânaṃ saṃyamaṃ katvâ so sukhaṃ⁸ na vihâyatî ti.

¹ P. suvaṇṇamañcavasena; S.D.P. °mañcasena.
nidahimṣu, omitting thûpaṃ kârâyiṃsu.

² P. and S.D.P.

³ P. and S.D.P. therassa.

⁴ P. and S.D.P. dibbasampattiṃ abhivhavanti.

⁵ B.F.L. has evaṃ

⁶ P. and S.D.P. have Sanghate Buddhaghose pi.
pasaṃsane.

⁷ P. and S.D.P.

⁸ All MSS. sukhâ.

iti ettâvatâ Mahâmaṅgalanâmena ekena
 therena pubbâcariyânaṃ santikâ
 yathâpariyattin paṇḍâya
 racitassa javanahâsatikkhanibbedhika-
 paṇḍâsampaṇassa Buddhaghosasseva
 nâma mahâtherassa nidânaṃ
 aṭṭhamapariçchedavaṇṇa-
 nâ samattâ.

AUTHOR'S ASPIRATION.

BUDDHAGHOSASSA nidānañ evaṃ taṃ racitañ mayā
nidānassa racanena paññavā homi sabbadā.

Labheyyaṇca ahaṃ tassa Metteyyasamāgamaṃ
Metteyyo nāma sambuddho tāreti janataṃ bahuṃ.

Yadā Metteyyataṃ patto dhāreyyaṃ piṭakattayaṃ
tadāhaṃ paññavā homi Metteyyaupasantike ti.

NOTES.

CHAPTER FIRST.

^a Rāja].—Sosaṅkama is the name of this king given in *Cullagantha-vamsa*.

^b Tihetuka].—*i.e.*, by reason of *amoha*, *adosa*, and *alobha*. “Tihetukāni ti alobhādosāmohavasena tihetukāni.”—*Saṅkheparavāṇanāṭikā*.

^c Bahupayāso] = bahu + upa + āyāso (*Sk. āyāsaka*), “exceedingly vexatious,” “most wearisome.”

^d Nipphattiṇ pāpuṇi].—*Cf.* Nāgasena’s early career in *Milindapañha* with that of Buddhaghosa.

^e Bissanukhandhe].—“In the place sacred to Viṣṇu.” This most likely represents the *Sk. Viṣṇukrānte*, “On the sacred seat of Viṣṇu,” *krānte* being the sacred grass which is woven into a mat or cushion.

^f Māsam].—“A bean,” “a kind of pulse” (*Sk. māsha*).

^g Bissanu].—The name of the god as well as of a legume. *Cf. Sk. viṣṇukanda*. There seems to be a reference here to the “advaita” system of philosophy, *i.e.* non-dualism, *māso* and *bissanu* (Viṣṇu) being taken as pantheistically or spiritually identical.

^h Apatibhāṇā].—“Mum,” “silent.”

ⁱ Palobheti].—“To coax,” “to win over by artifice” (*Sk. pra + √lubh*, “to entice”).

^j Uttānam katvā].—“Having solved,” “having elucidated.”

CHAPTER SECOND.

^a Vācugatāni].—“Got by heart.”

^b Āmasitvā].—“Having reflected upon,” literally “touched upon.”

^c Pāpāpāpesu pāpena] = pāpa + apāpesu pāpena. A variant reading is “pāpa + apāpe + supāpena;” in both cases pāpena = *Sk. prāpena* instead of *prāpas*, “arriving at,” “attainment.”

^d Pāpāpāpapahinena] = pāpa + apāpa + pahinena.

^e Samudāhataṁ].—This is equivalent to the *Sk. samudāhṛtaṁ*, “brought together,” “expressed.”

^f Tantu] = taṁ pi, taṁ referring to *kriyākriyacittāṇ*. Here *akiriyaṇ*

is used in the metaphysical meaning of "what does not produce *kusala* or *akusala*." Hence it is a synonym for "Nirvāṇa."

^g Samiritaṇ].—"Said," "declared." In *Sk.* we have samirayati, "to utter."

^h Ettāvatā].—The enumeration in *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* is as follows:—

Dvādasākusalānevaṃ kusalānekavisati
chattimseva vipākāni kriyaccittāni visati.

ⁱ Vibbhamati].—Metaphorically "to give up the priesthood," "to turn layman."

^j Tilakkhaṇena].—The reference is to *anicca*, *dukkha*, and *anatta*.

^k Sacchākāṃsu].—Aor. of *sacchikaroti*, "to realise," "to come face to face with." *Sacchā* = *Sk.* *sākshāt*, "by means of eyes" (*Pali*, *sa* + *akkha* + *to*). "*Tisso vijjā sacchākaṃsi*," "he realised the three kinds of knowledge."—*Puṇṇovādasuttam*.

^l Chaṭṭitabbā] = *chadditabbā*, qualifying *vedā*.

CHAPTER THIRD.

^a Paṭisallinassa].—Supply "Buddhaghosassa," "while Buddhaghosa was by himself." *Paṭisallina*, and not *paṭisallina*, is the usual reading in Bur. MSS. (*Sk.* *prati* + *sam* + \sqrt{li} , "to hide," + *na*.)

^b Adhivāsehi].—"Bear with," "suffer."

^c Badarena] = *padarena*, "with planking."

^d Sankhāretvā].—"Having constructed," "having strengthened" (?).

^e Sikhino].—Gen. of *sikhī*, "having a crest," from *sikhā*, "a crest."

^f Vāyasassa] = *kākassa*.

^g Ahāyathā].—3rd sing. imperfect of *hāyati*, "to be lost."

^h Khajjopanaka].—"A firefly." If not a mistake for *khajjopānaka*, it would appear to be formed from a verb *khajjopeti*, "to shine;" *khajjopana*, "shining;" *khajjopanaka*, "the little thing that shines." *Khajjo* is a contraction of *khajjota* (*Sk.* *khadyota*) and furnishes the base *khajja*.

ⁱ Abbhūdeti].—"To rise" (*abhi* + *ud* + *eti*) = *abbharetī*.

^j Nhāpetvā].—This is the usual form in Bur. MSS. for *nahāpetvā*.

^k Setṭhabhaggehi].—Literally, "with exalted fractures." The destruction of *kilesa* is referred to.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

^a Haritaki].—The fruit of the myrobolan. The *Sk.* has *haritaki* as well as *haritaka*. The latter form appears in one of my MSS.

^b Rujjanaṇ] = *rujanaṇ*, from \sqrt{ruj} , "to pain."

^c Pisetvā].—Ger. of *piseti*, "to grind" (*Sk.* \sqrt{pish}).

^d Tassa].—i.e., of the stile.

^c Jināṅkāre].—The stanza quoted is not in the *Jināṅkāra* itself, but in its *Ṭikā*. *Samatāyupekkham* = *amatāya* + *upekkham*; *nevicche* = *na* + *eva* + *icche*. The translation of the stanza is:—"I pay honour to Buddha, gone to Nirvāṇa, abandoning birth and existence, whether organised or not organised, who desires not happiness or suffering or indifference (*upekkha*) through unconcern (*amatā*, "sameness"), or that life which brings with it sensual gratifications, or that which brings no such gratifications." The *Jināṅkāra* with its *Ṭikā* was written by Buddhakakkhita. A *Ṭikā* by Buddhadatta is also mentioned.

^f Catupaccayā].—The four priestly requisites—*cīvara*, *piṇḍapāta*, *senḍasana*, and *bhesajja*.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

^a Osificati].—"To draw water," "to take water by dipping," the usual meaning being "to sprinkle."

^b Aṅgatarā].—Ablative, "beyond an aṅga (scriptural division)." The word may be treated also as a pl. fem. with the reading *bhūṇavaramatā*.

^c Saṅghadaṇḍako].—"A transgressor of priestly discipline," as he was taken for a merchant.

^d Javanapañño].—"Quick-witted."

CHAPTER SIXTH.

^a Upasseyyaphalake].—"On the plank or board serving as a support to the back." *Upasseyya* (properly *upassaya*) represents the *Sk. upāśraya*.

^b Paṇiṇiyādeti].—"To make over to" (*Sk. pratiniṛyati*).

^c Sile patitthāya].—"What priest is there ripe in intelligence and energetic—a man of profound wisdom, established in the precepts and advancing his tranquillity and spiritual insight—who can unravel this knot of corruption?" *Sapañño* = *paṭisandhipañño*; *cittaṃ* = *saṃādhi*; *paññaṃ* = *vipassanāpaññaṃ*; *jaṭaṃ* = *kilesaṃ*.

^d Acchariyabhūto].—"In a state of wonder," "wonder-stricken."

^e Vimhayamāno].—Part. of *vimhayati* (*Sk. vismayate*), "to be surprised."

^f Abhinnaṭṭisambhidā].—"Proficient in the four *paṭisambhiddas*, which are not to be understood by every one." The reading *pabhinna* will also answer. The *Paṭisambhiddamagga* enumerates seventy-three different kinds of knowledge, sixty-seven being *sāvakaśādhāraṇāni*, six *asāvakaśādhāraṇāni*. The four *paṭisambhiddas* belong to the former. They are—(1) *Atthapaṭisambhidā*, or a differentiating knowledge of sense and purport; (2) *dhammapaṭisambhidā*, or a differentiating knowledge of the sense and purport of the texts (Pali) of the scriptures; (3) *niruttipaṭisambhidā*, or a differentiating knowledge of grammar, idiom,

and exegesis; and (4) patibhānapatisambhidā, or a differentiating knowledge of worldly sciences. The sixty-seven kinds of knowledge are *sutamayañāṇam*, *śīlamayañāṇam*, &c.; the six *asāvakaśuddhāraṇī ñāṇāni* are—(1) *indriyaparopariyatti*, (2) *sattānaṃ āsāyanusaya*, (3) *yamaka-paṭihāriya*, (4) *mahākaruṇasamapatti*, (5) *sabbāññutā*, and (6) *anāvaraṇa*. The four *paṭisambhidās* precede these six. *Paṭisambhidā* implies “differentiation by analysis for the purpose of precise elucidation.” I notice in one MS. alternative explanations of *attha* and *dhamma*, the former being used with reference to “results,” the latter with reference to “causes” and “first principles.” *Vide Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism*, p. 499.

§ *Sāsanantassa*] = *sāsanaṃ* + *tassa*, the latter qualifying *munino*.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

^a *Tālārūḥhaka*].—“A toddy-seller” (*tāla* + *ārūḥhaka*).

^b *Kusalatikko*].—“Expert,” “versatile.”

^c *Mahacetiya*ssa].—The one erected by Vattagāmani, B.C. 89, called the *Sīlasobbhakaṇḍakacetiya*. The burning of Mahinda’s writings most probably symbolises the destruction of the Sinhalese MSS. by the Malabars.

^d *Sakkaṭa*].—“Sanskrit.”

^e *Abhāsi*].—The stanzas referred to have come down in a very corrupt and hybrid form in Burmese MSS. B.F.L. has—“*Brahivattasūhinivat-taphālayagāthā*, *kalyāṇimāpasiccataṃramyataṃ paccatāmāruddhāpraya-matāpāsevatamappaddhakāṇā*, *yovemyañjalirentevatayassoddhodaneyā-sanaṃ*, *okesiruccanayathāmatimāmoddhenapālipata*, *ñasasiyañcagāra-vakkhatvāsappurisāsamañhithāma*, *raghasantocasukkkhasantibuddhasissā-vuttamāpamavamāti*.” P. has—“*Brashyanidālunibrashyatthagāvakunya-nivasitañcatubrashyavacatvaṇi*, *setthashyamabyattakaṃyācamañjahvesa-votirilokosirasāṇiyamāhimaṃsuddhodhanassaputto bhagavati*, *sañkha-likhitasadisamsāsanaṃmyattenasattahimālimratta*, *attānañcandanasadi-senasilenaattānaṃsulimrattaathavāattānaṃmatovaratarohoti*.” The version in S.D.P. is as follows:—“*Brashyanidālunibrashyatthagāpā kunyā-sivāsitañcatubrashyācatvaṇi* *setthashyamāṃprattakam*, *yācamañcalivesa-votāṃparivesavotariloko*, *sirasāṇiyamāhimaṃsuddhodhanassaputto*, *bhagavatisaṅkhalikkhitasadisamsāsanaṃmyattenasattahimālmrattaattānaṃ-candanasadisenasilenaattānaṃsulamratta*, *athavāattānaṃsannirujjitvāma-tovaratarohoti*.” These are literatim transliterations, which, in the absence of the Sinhalese text, makes the attempt of restoration to the original Sanskrit a task of some difficulty. Had the Burmese copyists been acquainted with the conventional system by which Sanskrit can be precisely transliterated by means of Burmese characters, no such literary puzzle as we have now before us would have been presented for solution. From a *Nissaya*, I gather the meaning of the version in P. and S.D.P. to be:—“Subsisting as a porter, a cowherd, a water-drawer, or by serving

the learned is excellent. I beg you to let me hold up my hands in adoration. Let not the three worlds by means of the seven offences disgustingly besmear the conch-shell-like religion of the adorable one, the son of Suddhodhana,—a religion worthy always to be revered by the head. Besmear yourselves with virtue that is like sandal-wood; otherwise destroying yourselves, death is better.” “Sattehi” is explained by “sattehi āpattikhandhehi.” The following is a tentative restoration of the Sanskrit śloka, the versification being *upajāti* :—

Preshyanidhāraṇena preshyarthagavā
kumbhaniṣāṭaṇcaturasevakatvaṃ
śreṣṭhāsya mampratīkāmin
yācamyañjalivesaṃ vaḥ
trilokaśīrṣhāṇīyammyamahimnaḥ
Suddhodanasya putrabhagavatā
saṅkhalikhitasadrīṣaṃ śāsaṇaṃ
mṛdhrenenassaptabhirmā limpātā-
tmāṇaṇcandanasadrīṣeṇa śīlena
ātmāṇaṃ sulimpātāthavātmāṇaṃ
śanirujjhitaṃ mṛtirvarataro bhavati.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

^a Mayupanissāya] = mayam + upanissāya.

^b Niyamāgato].—My MSS. have niyamagato also. One MS. has niyamo gato. The reading is very likely nirāmākato, “bliss-producing” (*Sk.* nir + āma or āmaya). The letters *y* and *g* are often phonetic errors in Bur. MSS. for *r* and *k*. But cf. *Jindāṅkāra*, v. 5—

Visuddhakhandhasantāno
Buddho ti niyamo kato;
khandhasantānavisuddhisu
guṇo ti niyamo kato.

^c Siṅgālā] = sigālā, “jackal.”

^d Ānāpānaṃ].—“Exhalation and inhalation,” not “inhalation and exhalation,” as in Childers’s Dictionary (*cf. vāṭṭapānaṃ*, “a window”). The word is equal to “assāsapassāso.” The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* defines it thus :—“Ānaṃ ti assāso passāso no; pānaṃ ti passāso assāso no.” The reference is to the meditation known as the *soḷasavatthukadānāpānasatisamādhi*. The following is from *Paṭisambhidāmagga* :—“Cittaṃ vikkhepaṃ na gacchati padhānaṇca paññāyati payogaṇca sādheti viṣesaṃ adhi-gacchati, seyyathā pi same bhūmibhāge rukkho nikkhitto hoti taṃ puriso kakacena chindeyya rukke phutṭhakakacadantānaṃ vasena purisassa sati upatṭhitaṃ hoti āgate vā gate vā kakacadante na manasi karoti, āgatā vā gatā vā kakacadantā aviditā na honti, padhānaṇca paññāyati payogaṇca sādheti; same bhūmibhāge nikkhitto rukkho evaṃ tathā upanibbandanā

nimittam datṭhabbam. Kakacadantānam pavatti yathā evaṃ tathā assāsapassāsā datṭhabbā.” See treatment of this subject in the seventh section of *Visuddhimagga*.

^e Dvipaduttamo].—“Having two excellent feet.” This refers to the hundred and eight *lakṣaṇas* on the soles of Buddha's feet. A. Bur. MS. gives them as follows :—

Satthi ca sirivaccho¹ ca nandiyāvattam eva ca
 sovattiko² vataṃso ca vaddhamāṇaṇa pīṭhakam
 āṇusaṇṇeva pāsādo toraṇam chattam eva ca
 khaggo ca tālavantaṇa morahatthakabijani
 uṇhisam maṇi pattaṇa dāmaṇi niluppalaṇi tathā
 rattasetuppalaṇeva padumaṇi puṇḍarikaṇi tathā
 puṇṇaghato puṇṇapāti samuddo ca cakkavāṇi
 Himavā ceva Sumeru suriyo candimā tathā
 nakkhattā caturo dipā dvisahassaparittakā
 cakkavati setasaṅkho macchānam yugalaṇi tathā
 cakkam sattamahāgaṅgā mahāselā mahāsarā
 supaṇṇako saṃsumāro³ dhajo paṭākameva ca
 pātāṅki⁴ haribijani kelāsapabbato tathā
 siharājā byaggharājā Valaho ca Upasatho
 Bāsukināgarājā ca haṇso ca usabho tathā
 Erāvaṇo makāro ca harināvā catumukhā
 savacchakā tathā gāvī kinnaro kinnari pi ca
 karaviko mayuro ca koṇicārājā theva ca
 cakkavākadijo ceva jivajivanāmakā ca
 cha kāmāvacarādevā brahmalokā ca soḷasa.

“A dagger-like sword, the magnificent mansion of Nirvāṇa, a rose-shaped flower with the marginal petals curving downwards and with left sweep, the symbol of three curved lines one over the other representing the arcs of the moon on the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of its waxing, a flower on stalks which grow upwards as well as downwards, a pinnacled platter, a stool or bedstead, an elephant goad, a turretted palace, a gate, an umbrella, a sword, a palm-fan, a hand-whisp of peacock's feathers, a coronal band or crown, a ruby, a bowl, a fringe, the blue water-lily, the red water-lily, the white water-lily, the *paduma* water-lily, the *puṇḍarika* water-lily, a full water-jar, a full dish, the ocean, a Buddhist world system, the Himalayas, Mount Meru, the sun, the moon, the constellations, the continent of trilateral-faced beings with lesser islands, the continent of circular-faced beings with lesser islands, the continent of crescent-faced beings with lesser islands, the continent of square-faced beings with lesser islands, Sakka as universal monarch, a white conch-shell, a pair of fishes, a cart-wheel, the seven⁵ great rivers, the seven⁵ great mountains,

¹ *Sk. śrīvatsa.*

² *Sk. svastika.*

³ This is the usual form in Bur. MSS. = *Sk. śiśumāra*. The form *susumāro* (“child-slayer”) is also met with.

⁴ *Sk. palyanka.*

⁵ Each being taken separately as a sign.

the seven¹ great lakes, the Garuḷa bird, an alligator, a pair of pennants, a palanquin, a golden fan, the Kelāsa rock, the king of lions, the king of tigers, the horse Valaha, the elephant Upasatha, Vāsuki the dragon king, a goose, a bull, the elephant Erāvaṇa, the sea animal Makara, a golden boat, the four cardinal points, a cow with calf, a male Kinnara (having a bird's body with a human face), a female Kinnara, the sweet-voiced Karavika bird, a peacock, the crane king, a pelican (or ruddy goose), a swallow, the six¹ deva worlds, and the sixteen¹ Brahmaloḥas." Sometimes there are discrepancies in the enumeration. For the explanation of these discrepancies and notes on the signs, see the author's *The Burmese Buddhapād*. In this connection vide Alabaster's *The Wheel of the Law*, p. 290; Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 367; and Burnouf's *Lotus*, p. 625.

^f Mārasenapamaddanā].—Here the *ablative*. B.F.L. has pamaddito.

^g Pamūñcaso].—"Released."

^h Khaṇika].—"Momentary." The definition of death in *Vibhaṅga* is:—"Yā tesāṃ tesaṃ sattānaṃ tamhā tamhā sattanikāyā cuti cavanatā bhedo antaradhānaṃ maccu maraṇaṃ kālakiriyaṃ khandānaṃ bhedo kaḷe-varassa nikkhepo jivitindriyassa upacchedo idaṃ vuccati maraṇaṃ." Buddhaghosa in *Visuddhimagga* has:—"Ekabhavapariyāpannassa jivitindriyassa upacchedo; yaṃ pana panetaṃ arahantānaṃ vaṭṭadukkhāsamuccheda-saṅkhātāṃ samuccheda-maraṇaṃ saṅkhāraṇaṃ khaṇabhaṅgasāṅkhātāṃ khaṇikamaraṇaṃ; rukkho mato lohaṃ matan ti ādisu samuti maraṇaṃ."

ⁱ Vithicittānaṃ].—Here *vīthi* (literally "road," "way") is used in a metaphysical sense, and signifies "thought production" (through the six *dvāras* [senses] in relation to the six *ārammaṇas*). See sec. 4 (*Vithisaṅgahavibhāga*) in *Saṅkhepavannanāṭikā*.

¹ Each being taken separately as a sign.

THE END.



BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI

OR

THE HISTORICAL ROMANCE

OF

THE RISE AND CAREER

OF

BUDDHAGHOSA

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TRANSLATION.¹

THE HISTORY OF BUDDHAGHOSA.

INTRODUCTION.

First paying honour to the Three Gems that dispel all evil, I shall write the authentic history of Buddhaghosa. Ye, good reverend sirs, assembled together, put aside other business, and, steadfast in faith, listen to that² history. He who hears the teaching of the good and acts up to it, receives distinction in the present existence and Nirvâṇa hereafter. Therefore should one attend respectfully to the account of Buddhaghosa, which sets forth the praise of the Omniscient One, and is conducive to the bliss of heaven and the bliss of emancipation.

CHAPTER FIRST.

BOYHOOD.

AT first,³ the reverend therā, Mahinda, having come to Ceylon with priests replete with supernatural powers, established Buddha's religion in this island of Ceylon in

¹ Since the text of *Buddhaghosuppatti* has been printed, I have had a MS. from Thatôn, which I have found very serviceable. Some of its readings are introduced in the foot-notes of this translation. The MS. is referred to as T.

² Instead of the reading *paḥḍya taṃ*, there occurs *paḥḍyadam* = *paḥḍya* + *idam*.

³ *Sante* is understood with the introductory *evam*, which refers to the sentiments of the introducing. *Evam sante*, "this being so."

the 236th year after his Nirvâṇa. Having established it, and continuing to the end of his life, he fixed the faith in the hearts of many and underwent complete annihilation. After him the therā Buddhaghosa sprang up. How is his uprising to be known? It is said there existed once the village of Ghosa, not far from the Bodhi Tree. It had the name of Ghosa from its being the place of residence of a large number of cowherds' children. A certain king ruled in that village. His spiritual adviser was a Brahman, Kesi, who was an excellent teacher, lovable, and of pleasing deportment. His wife was known as Kesinī. In connection with these circumstances the ancients have said:—

“The Brahman named Kesi, endeared to the king and a favourite of his, instructs him daily in the three Vedas; he had a Brahman wife, Kesinī by name, who was well accomplished; she was endeared to the Brahman, worthy of respect, and deserving of admiration.”¹

Whenever, on account of the religion of Buddha being recited in Sinhalese, others, not knowing that language, could not comprehend it, a certain therā, possessed of supernatural powers and completely devoid of taint, being aware of it, thought to himself, “Who is that great therā who will be able to turn the Word of Buddha into Māgadhi on it being recited in Sinhalese?” And reflecting thus, he saw that the deva prince, Ghosa, living in the Tāvātimsa heaven, had the ability to put into Māgadhi the Scriptures of Buddha, the Revered One, if repeated in Sinhalese. And even while he was reflecting, he presented himself before Sakka, the deva king.

¹ The reading *vanandlāsā* = *va* + *n* (euphonic) + *andlāsā*, “assiduous,” with the second *a* lengthened *metri causa*, is scarcely tenable in the light of my Thatōn MS. The reading *va andsālā* occurs in three MSS., and the meaning seems to be “not to be disgusted with;” hence “worthy of admiration.” The etymology, however, seems doubtful. I am inclined to derive it from the root *nash*, “to destroy,” and give it the meaning, “not harmful.” *Andsala* would, therefore, be equal to the Sk. *anāshaka*.

Sakka saluted him and asked, "Reverend sir, wherefore have you come?" He answered, "At present, O great king, the Word of the Revered One is difficult of comprehension, being recited in Sinhalese, but there is existing in the Tāvātimsa heaven a deva prince, Ghosa by name. He, having the wisdom of *Tihetupafisandhi*—that is, for re-birth in virtue of the absence of ignorance, hatred, and lust—and also the attributes of the past Buddhas, has the ability to put into Māgadhi the Word of Buddha if recited in Sinhalese.

"Come then," said Sakka, and went into the presence of Ghosa, the deva prince, and, embracing¹ him, said, "A mahāthera propitiates you, and wishes you to go to the world of men."

The prince replied, "King of devas, I wish to go higher than the deva world; as residence in the world of men is full of suffering and worrison, I, therefore, do not desire to go to their world, but I shall go if Buddha's Word is difficult of comprehension by others." In these words he gave his consent.

Having attained the prince's consent, Sakka announced it to the mahāthera, who thereupon went back.

This therā was at that time the Brahman Kesi's friend and family counsellor. At daybreak, taking with him his bowl and robe, he partook of food in the Brahman's house. On finishing, he said to the Brahman, "On the seventh day from this be not remiss; you will have a son who will be exceedingly meritorious and exceedingly wise." Having said this, he took his departure.

On the seventh day, being intent on it, Sakka died and obtained conception in the womb of Kesinī, the Brahman woman. He was born² after ten months. At the time of his birth the assembly of Brahmans, consisting of slaves, servants, and others, gave rise to pleasant exclama-

¹ *Alingitvā* is very likely the proper form. One MS. has *āliṅkitvā*.

² The reading *gabbhato parinikkhami* is found in T. for *gabbhato nikkhami*.

tions, such as "eat," "drink," &c.; and so they gave him the name Ghosa.

Ghosa at the age of seven learnt the Vedas, and within seven years acquired proficiency in the three divisions. One day this young Brahman, Ghosa, was eating¹ peas seated in the spot sacred to Vishṇu. Other Brahmans, on seeing this, became very angry and exclaimed, "Eh! young Ghosa, wherefore are you seated eating peas in the place sacred to our teacher Vishṇu. If you do not know the measure of your own dignity, how will you know the three Vedas?"

Ghosa, seated as he was eating peas, uttered this stanza, questioning the Brahmans on a point having relation to Vishṇu :—

"The pea itself is Vishṇu; what is it that is called Vishṇu? Of these two how can I know which is Vishṇu?"

Hearing this, the Brahmans kept looking at each other, and, being unable to reply, were silent. Thereupon some of the Brahmans told² Kesi about Ghosa. Kesi asked his son, "What, dear, did you act so?" "Yes, dear father," returned the son. Kesi conciliated the Brahmans, saying, "Look to me; be not angry; he knows³ nothing," and then dismissed them.

One day, taking his son along with him, Kesi went to instruct the king in the Vedas. Ghosa went along with his father with a goat-skin for sitting on. While instructing the king, Kesi came across a knotty point in a certain place in one of the Vedas, and not comprehending its sense or purport, and being in doubt, took leave of the king and returned to his own house.

Ghosa, aware of his father not making out the knotty point, elucidated the difficulty by means of his own ability

¹ T. reads *bhūñji*.

² T. has *ārocayimsu*.

³ *Jānāsi* should, no doubt, be *jānāti*, unless it be supposed that Kesi turns off from his speech to the Brahmans and addresses Ghosa.

and wrote¹ down the signification on a palm-leaf manuscript book. On seeing the writing, Kesi knew the sense and purport of the Vedic passage, and was glad. The knotty point became manifest in the Brahman's mind. He then asked his attendants, "By whom has this been written?"

The attendants replied, "Dear master, by whom except your son has the writing been executed?"

Kesi asked his son, "My dear, has this writing been executed by you?"

"Yes, dear father," says he.

The father, being extremely pleased, uttered two stanzas in praise of his son:—

"Thou, though young, art renowned as wise; he whose son thou art, as being most exalted, is unrivalled among men.

"Now art thou blessed, having established thyself as an immortal; thou art even my father; I am as thy son."

Having praised his son thus, he told the king about him. The king, on hearing the circumstance, was exceedingly glad, and, embracing Ghosa and pressing him to his breast, kissed him on his head and said, "Be thou² my son, dear; I am thy father." And then he uttered this stanza:—

"Among Brahmans, thou, dear, art most excellent and exalted. I am delighted with thee on account of thy wisdom; I shall give thee a fine village."

Here ends the first chapter, containing
an account of the boyhood
of Buddhaghosa.

¹ For *potthake likhitvā thapesi* T. has *potthake likhi*. It may be here remarked that the root *likh*, "to write," is treated in Bur. MSS., as if it belonged both to the *first* and the *third* class of verbs. Hence the base *likkha*.

² T. has *hohi*, not *hosi*.

CHAPTER SECOND.

ADMISSION TO THE PRIESTHOOD.

AFTER that, the young Brahman Ghosa, in learning the Vedas, got off six thousand pâdas daily. One day, the Mahâthera, the friend of the Brahman Kesi, came, according to custom, to the latter's house for his food and remained in the middle of it. A young Brahman carried off Ghosa's rug, and, pointing it out, presented it to the Mahâthera to sit on. The Mahâthera, though indifferent about it, sat on Ghosa's rug. Ghosa, noticing this, became mighty angry, just as if he were holding a snake by its tail and dashing it on the ground. Becoming thus angry and not able to restrain himself, he spoke abusively, "This bald-headed priest is shameless; he knows not how far to go! Why does my father feed him? does he know this tenet of mine, or does he know any other?" Having spoken thus derogatively of the Mahâthera, he thought as follows, "I shall ask him about the tenet when he has finished eating and removed¹ his hand from the bowl."

Then, when the Mahâthera had finished eating and removed his hand from the bowl, and was still seated, Ghosa asked him, "You, reverend bald-head, do you know the Vedic tenet, or do you know any other?"

The Mahâthera, on hearing these words, became exceedingly joyous and said, "Dear Ghosa, I know your Vedic tenet, and I also know another."

"If," said Ghosa, "you know the Vedic tenet, repeat it."

¹ The reading *nihatâ* for *onîta* occurs.

The Mahâthera then recited from the three Vedas, touched upon the beginning, middle, and end of them, and gave a clear exposition of the Vedic Scriptures as explained¹ by the wise, being like a ball of entangled thread. The recitation over, the Mahâthera washed his mouth with water from his water-pot and sat down.

Ghosa, seeing the therâ, grew ashamed and said again, "I am desirous to know your tenet; rehearse it."

The Mahâthera, in order to satisfy him, rehearsed the *mâtikâ* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, and after discriminating between the three *mâtikâs*—i.e., of the *kusala*, *akusala*, and *abyâkata dhammas*—he said, "Dear Ghosa, what is called *kusala* is characterised by results that are blameless, conducive to the demolition of demerit, the means of purification, the producer of what is desirable, and leads to the attainment of a happy lot (i.e., Nirvâṇa); what is *akusala* is characterised by undesirable and blameworthy results, is not the means of purification and the producer of mental enlightenment, but leads to the attainment of misery; *abyâkata*, or what is indifferent, is characterised by being the reverse of the other two, being without consequences; or by me is here set forth the fourfold² *kusala*, formulated by Muni, full of wisdom, controlled in his senses, and ever the inciter of what is meritorious:—

"Whatever evil mental tendency has been declared by Buddha, who has parted with merit and demerit (by the attainment of Nirvâṇa) and excellently brought about good from evil—that is declared by me."

"The Jina who has differentiated the attainment of actions into *kusala* and *akusala*, has set forth the mental tendency to the performance of actions accompanied by *kusala* and *akusala* and actions unaccompanied by *kusala* and *akusala*, and has, moreover,

¹ *Vinivedo* is an adjective of the verb *vinivedati*, "to make known."

² *Catubbâmakam* is used in reference to *kâma*, *râpa*, *arâpa*, and *lokut-tara*. In this relation *Dhammasaṅgani* may be advantageously consulted.

pointed out the mental tendency to the performance or non-performance of actions beneficial or unbeneficial differentiated from those that produce *kusala* and *akusala*—that too is set forth by me.”

“Thus *kusala* is twenty-one fold, *akusala* twelve-fold, consequences (*vipāka*) thirty-six fold, and mental action (*kriyā*) twenty-fold.” In these words the Mahāthera pointed out the Excellent Law.

Ghosa, having listened to the *Abhidhammamātikā*, was perplexed and said, “What, reverend sir, is the name of this tenet of yours?”

“This, friend, is Buddha’s tenet.”

“Is Buddha’s tenet,” Ghosa asked, “to be acquired by a layman like myself?”

The other replied, “The tenet of Buddha can be learnt by a monk like myself, for holiness is wanting to a layman, and there are many obstacles.”

One day Ghosa reflected on various passages of the three Vedas, considered the beginning and middle, but not the end, and, while reflecting, he exclaimed—

“The creed of Buddha is invaluable; the creed of Buddha pleases me; by resorting to Buddha’s creed, people are freed from all suffering!”

And when he had reflected thus, he saluted his parents and asked to be allowed to adopt the ascetic life. On receiving a rebuff, he made frequent requests, and afterwards said, “Dear parents, on becoming a monk, I shall learn Buddha’s religion, and after I have got it off by heart I shall turn layman and return.”

The parents then took him along with offerings, and leading him to the hermitage of the Mahāthera, made him over, saying, “This is thy grandchild;¹ he desires to become a monk; give him holy orders.”

¹ *Nettā*, for *nattā* (Sk. *naptā*), “grandson,” is the form in all my MSS. I believe I have met the same form elsewhere.

The Mahâthera then removed his beard, and with moist sandal-wood powder removed from him the odour of laymanship, and making him wear a white robe, gave him the *Tacakammaṭṭhāna*¹—"skin meditation"—for contemplation and admitted him to the priesthood.

"What, reverend sir," asked Ghosa, "is this *Tacakammaṭṭhāna*?"

The Mahâthera said, "It is the contemplation of the hair of the face and head, of the hair on the skin, of the nails, of the teeth, of the skin. Inasmuch as the *Tacakammaṭṭhāna* has not been abandoned by all the Buddhas—indeed, all the Buddhas, seated on the *seat of wisdom* (*bodhipallāṅke*), attained to the knowledge of the three *lakkhaṇas* through *Tacakammaṭṭhāna*, and came to the realisation of the *fruit of the first step in sanctification*: therefore has it been affirmed by the Reverend One—

"*Tacakammaṭṭhāna* has been taught by the Omniscient One; by having recourse to *Tacakammaṭṭhāna* one is freed from all suffering; therefore should one practise the most excellent *Tacakammaṭṭhāna*, full of essential worth;² by practising it he attains *Nirvāṇa*."

Ghosa, hearing this, went on practising *Tacakammaṭṭhāna*, and being established in the Three Refuges, steadfast in the ten precepts, and firm in faith, gave rise to the *three Lakkhaṇas* by means of the five *Kammaṭṭhānas*, and becoming firm in the religion of Buddha, he put faith in it and told the Mahâthera, "Reverend sir, the religion of Buddha puts an end to transmigration; it is the means of bringing about the destruction of suffering in all existences; this is known to me. My Vedas are without essential worth; they are void; they are without permanence; they have been relinquished by the Buddha and other saints."

¹ T. has *tacapaṇcakkammaṭṭhāna*, a reading supported by the context lower down.

² T. gives *sātasamatam* for *sādhussamatam*; for *bhāvento* in the next line of the text, it has *bhavato*.

And so he became a monk; and thenceforth day by day got off sixty thousand pādas, and in the space of a month completed the acquirement of the Three *Piṭakas*. Having done so, he, on coming of age, received ordination and obtained permanent¹ efficiency in the four *paṭisambhidas* or *differentiating analyses*. In all Jambudīpa he was known by the name Buddhaghosa. And he was lovable and estimable among gods and men; wherefore have the ancients said—

“One Buddhaghosa by name, like Buddha in the world, was born of Brahman lineage near the Bodhi Tree; he was honoured by gods and men, honoured by Brahmans, honoured, too, by the priesthood; ever doth he obtain honour.”

Here ends the second chapter, describing Buddhaghosa's admission into the Church and
his having received ordination
from his preceptor.

¹ Literally “not to be destroyed,” “not to be impaired.”

CHAPTER THIRD.

KESI'S CONVERSION.

ONE day the thought occurred to Buddhaghosa while he was alone and retired, "Is my or my preceptor's wisdom superior in regard to the Word of Buddha?" The preceptor, who was free from all sin, knew his thought then by his own internal perception, and remarked, "Now, Buddhaghosa, your thought does not please me; if you reflect on it, you will know that it is not becoming a priest; forthwith beg my pardon."

Hearing the words of his preceptor, Buddhaghosa became afraid and agitated, and addressed him respectfully, "This is my fault; pardon me, reverend sir."

The preceptor replied, "If you are to appease me, go to the island of Ceylon, translate the Word of Buddha from the language of Ceylon to that of Mâgadha, and then shall I be appeased." And he remained silent.

Buddhaghosa said, "I would go to Ceylon if you wish it, but, reverend sir, until I convert my father from his heterodoxy, till then permit me to continue here." Having spoken so, he took leave of his preceptor and went home.

Kesi the Brahman, on seeing him, thought, "My son must now have become a layman; my son's face looks complacent," and being pleased, asked him, "Now will you leave the church and become¹ layman?"

When Buddhaghosa heard this he remained silent. On going to his own residence, he had two brick compartments made, a brick roof constructed aloft, the walls plastered with mud, the building strengthened with

¹ *Bhavissati* is a wrong reading for *bhavissasi*.

planking,¹ and fixed two bolts inside and outside of one of the rooms. He placed fire, a pot, rice, water, milk, curd, butter, &c.; and after setting up a mechanical contrivance, he made his father enter the room, and closed the door by means of a string attached to the mechanism.

Kesi the Brahman asked, "My dear, I am your father; why do you act so?"

"True, you are my father," answered Buddhaghosa; "but as you are heterodox, not graciously disposed towards Buddha's Word, and unbelieving, I have therefore inflicted this punishment."

"I do not entertain a false belief," replied Kesi. "Open the door."

"I will open the door," said Buddhaghosa, "when, in case you are not heterodox, you have expressed the excellence of Buddha in the words, '*Iti pi so Bhagavā*,' &c. And he frightened his father with the fear of hell, saying, "Dear father, you will fall into the Avīci hell on your death if you do not abandon your heresy." Moreover, reproaching his father again with heterodoxy, he gave utterance to these stanzas:—

"When the crested sweet-voiced peacock is not seen, they then honour² the crow with offerings of flesh and fruit.

"But when a peacock full of essential worth has come to Mount Meru, then the honour and worth of a crow are lost.

"Until Buddha, the King of Law and Light-Giver, has not appeared, till then have some paid extensive honour to Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

¹ *Badareṇa saṅkhāretvā*. One is inclined to wonder if this is not intended as equivalent to the Sk. *pradraveṇa saṃskāretvā*, "doing up with a liquid substance" (such as varnish).

² *Apājeyyū* of the Bur. MSS. here and in a subsequent stanza of the text is properly *apājeyyū* (3rd pl. aor.).

"When Buddha, full of essential worth, has pointed out the Law, the honour and the worth of the heterodox have disappeared.

"Just as, like unto the heterodox, fireflies shine in the dark fortnight, displaying their splendour,¹ and their light vanishes when full of rays the sun comes up, thus the many unorthodox here, like unto the fireflies and resembling the dark fortnight, display their excellence in the world.

"When Buddha rises in the world, the unorthodox, hitherto of infinite radiance, lose their brightness, just as the firefly when the sun is up."²

Kesi, having suffered imprisonment for three days, brought to mind the excellence of Buddha as declared by his son, and having repeated the words *Iti³ pi so*

¹ T. rightly reads, "dassayanti ca obhāsaṃ etesaṃ viya sobhanto." For *khajjopanakānaṃ*, it reads *khajjapansañhānaṃ*.

² The following is a metrical translation of the beautiful Pali verses:—

"A crow may shine an honour'd bird
On Meru's rocky mount;
But let the peacock show his plumes,
His worth then cannot count.

"Such offerings as flesh and fruit
Are only his by right;
The crested bird with sweet-toned voice
Provided is from sight.

"The King of Law and Sun of Truth
In glory is not seen
Where Samaṇas and Brahmanas
Their worth unduly ween.

"When Buddha comes replete with
worth,
Lays down the Law of Truth,
Then heretics are put to shame,
Their honour lose forsooth.

"As fireflies in a darksome night
Their brightness shed around,
But with the rising beams of day
No ray of light is found:

"So glory wanes for heretics,
Who like the fireflies are,
And Buddha's light is all the light
That shines both near and far."

³ "*Iti pi so Bhagavā.*" The full text is to be found in *Dhajaggaṣutta* of the *Parittam*. It runs as follows: "Ahaṃ kho bhikkhave evaṃ vadāmi; sace tumbhākaṃ bhikkhave araṇṇagatānaṃ vā rukkhamaḷagatānaṃ vā suṇṇāgaragatānaṃ vā uppajjeyya bhayaṃ vā chambhitattaṃ vā lomahaṃso vā mameva tasmim samaye anussareyyātha—'Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā ti.'" The translation is: "I tell you so, O priests, if on your going to the forest, the foot of a tree, or a solitary residence, there arise fear, consternation, or horripilation, at that time you should call me to mind as follows:—'He, indeed, the Reverend One, is sanctified, omniscient, replete with knowledge and good practices; he is Sugata, the 'Well-conducted,'

Bhagavā, &c., he became of blameless belief in the Three Refuges, said, "Henceforth I am going to a life-giving refuge," and addressed Buddhaghosa thus, "This Bhagavā is my Teacher; I am his devotee." Through the excellence of Buddha he entertained a repugnance for his unorthodoxy and became established in the *fruition of the first path of saintship*.

Buddhaghosa opened the door, bathed his father with scented water, paid honour to him with scented flowers, &c., and thus wiped off his offence.

After his attainment to the state of Soātpan, Kesi uttered these stanzas, glorifying the excellence of the Omniscient One:—

"He who, having demolished all sin, is deserving of highest reverence, who is replete with the knowledge of all states and conditions—he, 'twice born,' is my Teacher.

"He, the 'Well-conducted' (Sugata), who is replete with knowledge and good practices, and conversant with every state and condition in all the three worlds—he, 'twice born,' is my Teacher.

"That Revered One who is more excellent than all, who is a subjugator of men as a horseman of horses—he, 'twice born,' is my Teacher."

Buddhaghosa, when he heard the words of his father, was pleased in mind, and congratulated him, exclaiming, "Well, well!"

Here ends the third chapter, describing the
method adopted by Buddhaghosa for
the emancipation of his father
from heterodoxy.

world-wise, transcendental, the teacher and horseman-like subjugator of men, the venerated Buddha of gods and men."

CHAPTER FOURTH.

VOYAGE TO CEYLON.

HAVING established his father in the *fruition of the first path to saintship* and wiped off his offence, Buddhaghosa took leave of him and returned to his preceptor, by whom having been deputed to Ceylon, he continued as long as it suited him, and taking leave for the purpose of his journey to the island, he went to the port along with some merchants, embarked, and set out. On the very day of his departure, the Mahâthera Buddhadatta left the island of Ceylon. Thinking to himself that he must go¹ to Jambudîpa, he embarked with some merchants and was on his way back.

Buddhaghosa had traversed the great ocean in his vessel for three days. Buddhadatta, too, had been on the great ocean three days in his vessel on his return voyage. Through the supernatural power of Sakka and other devas, the vessels of the two theras, coming into collision, stood still.

The merchants then, observing this, stared at one another terror-stricken. Of the two theras, Buddhaghosa, coming out, noticed the terrified state of his friends the merchants, and inquired of the other merchants, "What monk, sirs, has come in your vessel?"

The merchants, the friends of Buddhadatta, said, "It is Buddhadatta."

¹ The quotation "Puna Jambudîpam agamâ" is evidently faulty. None of the MSS. has the right reading, which I take to be "Puna Jambudîpam âgamâmi," or more probably "Puna Jambudîpam âgamâmâ," the verb being in the first person plural. The copyist may have omitted the last *mâ* as a superfluity. "Âgamâmâ" is therefore restored.

Hearing this, Buddhadatta came out, and seeing the therā Buddhaghosa, became highly delighted and asked, "What, sir, is your name?"

Buddhaghosa replied, "I am Buddhaghosa."

"Whither are you bound?"

"I, dear sir, am bound for Ceylon."

"Wherefore are you going?"

"I am going to translate the Scriptures of Buddha which are in the Sinhalese language into the language of Mâgadha."

"I," said Buddhadatta, "was deputed to go and translate the Scriptures of Buddha from Sinhalese and to transcribe them in the Mâgadhi language, but I have obtained only the works *Jinālaṅkāra*, *Dantavaṁsa*, *Dhātuvāṁsa*, and *Bodhivaṁsa*, not the *Aṭṭhakathās* and *Ṭīkās*. If, sir, you are to render the Sinhalese version of Buddha's religion into the language of Mâgadha, render into the latter the *Aṭṭhakathās* and *Ṭīkās* of the Three *Piṭakas*." He encouraged Buddhaghosa thus, and made over to him the myrobolan, the iron style, and the stone which had been given to himself by Sakka, the king of the devas. He moreover said, "If ever you have an eye affection or an aching of the back, rub the myrobolan on the stone and apply it on the part that pains, and your affection¹ will disappear," and, pointing out to him the miraculous efficacy of the style, he gave it to him.

Buddhaghosa then heard the following introductory stanza of the *Jinālaṅkāra* in adoration of Buddha:—

"I pay honour to Buddha, gone to Nirvāṇa, abandoning birth and existence, what is organised or not organised, who desireth not happiness, or suffering, or indifference through unconcern, nor that life accompanied by sensual gratifications, or the life in which such gratifications are wanting."

Having heard this, he said, "Reverend sir, your treatise

¹ T. has *tuyham kīṭye uppanno rogo*.

is written very stylishly ; people of respectability will be unable afterwards to know its meaning ; by the ignorant it will be most difficult of comprehension."

"Reverend Buddhaghosa," said Buddhadatta, "prior to yourself I went to Ceylon to work up the religion of Buddha ; I am of short life ; I shall not live long ; I shall, therefore, not be able to carry it out ; do you execute it thoroughly."

On the conclusion of the conversation between the two theras with regard to the Word of Buddha, the two vessels belonging to the merchants moved away of themselves. Of the two, Buddhaghosa's went in the direction of Ceylon ; that of Buddhadatta made for Jambudipa. The latter arrived there with the merchants. He lived¹ only a few days, fulfilled priestly duties, and, on his death, was born in the Tusita city. The merchants, in virtue of their having provided the four priestly requisites for the thera, were born, on their death, in Tāvātimsa abode.

Buddhaghosa with the merchants he accompanied arrived at the island of Ceylon, moored his vessel in the vicinity of Dvijāthāna and remained there.

Here ends the fourth chapter, relating
the arrival of Buddhaghosa
in Ceylon.

¹ T. reads *vasanto yeva* for *vasitvā*.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

BUDDHAGHOSA AS A WITNESS.

WHILE Buddhaghosa was staying there (at Dvijaṭhāna) for a few days, two slave-women, belonging to Brahmans in Ceylon, took their pots and went to fill water. One of the two, having first filled water at the ford, was coming up. As she was coming up, the other slave-woman was going down to the ford in hot haste. The jar of the one who was ascending, being struck by hers, broke. The woman whose jar was broken became enraged with her and spoke discourteously, saying, "You are the child¹ of a slave, you are the child of a harlot, you are as ignorant as a cow!" She went on speaking so, making use of a large number of abusive epithets.

The other, hearing herself reviled, became incensed and spoke in the same abusive, opprobrious fashion. In a short time the language of abuse and opprobrium employed² by the two slave-women exceeded an *aṅga*, being of the length of a *bhāṇavāra*.

Buddhaghosa, hearing this bandying of abuses, thought, "There is no one else here but I; these slave-women abusing each other will make me a witness and tell their husbands; they will then question me; when asked, I shall show their abuses in writing." Thereupon he wrote down the abusive speech of the two in the manuscript

¹ *Dāsiputtosi* is the reading of all the MSS.; for *gaṇikāya puttosi* T. reads *gaṇikaputti*.

² *Kathitvā* should be *kathitā*.

note-book¹—"One of the two made use of such an abuse; the other such an abuse. . . ."

By abusing each other for a considerable time, they grew weary, went home, and told their husbands.

The husband of the slave-woman whose jar was broken, being dissatisfied, quarrelled with the husband of the other, and, going to the king's tribunal, reported the matter to him.

The king, being unable to settle the case, asked, "Who is your witness?"

One of the two women said, "A foreigner, one who has transgressed priestly discipline, is at the landing-place—he is my witness."

The other also referred to the same therā, and made a similar intimation to the king.

The king then sent an emissary to have the therā questioned.

Buddhaghosa, without saying, "The abusive language used by these two Brahman women has been accurately heard by me, but we monks do not take notice of things," made over into the hands of the emissary his manuscript note-book containing his written statement of abuses and said, "Friend, show this note-book to the king."

The messenger took it and showed it to the king, who, on hearing it read, questioned the two slave-women—"Eh, women! has abuse like this been truly uttered by you?"

"It is true, your honour," they responded.

The king said, "The one carrying the heavy weight should have been kept at a distance by the one carrying the light weight." On making the declaration he inflicted punishment on the Brahman slave-woman whose jar was not broken.

Being desirous to see the therā, the king asked the

¹ *Lañjanapottḥakam*, a note-book. *Lañjana* appears as a permanent form in Burmese MSS. for the Sk. *lāñchana*. I notice the same form in a Talaing work.

Brahmans, "Where does he who has shown himself so quick-witted reside?"

The Brahmans, being unorthodox, were envious of the theras' excellence and said, "This offender against priestly discipline, your majesty, has come with the object of trading; it is not advisable for you to see him."

The king, on hearing this, was satisfied with the theras' excellence, and uttered two stanzas in praise of him—

"Among the many priests of Ceylon, no priest like him has ever before been seen here.

"He attains heaven who gives offerings to and reveres one so virtuous, clever, and most self-denying."

The king remained silent after having thus expressed in two stanzas the excellence of Buddhaghosa.

Here ends the fifth chapter, describing the testimony given by Buddhaghosa, through his wisdom, in relation to the two Brahman slaves.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PERMISSION TO TRANSLATE THE SCRIPTURES.

AFTER that the thera Buddhaghosa went to the archbishop of Ceylon to pay his respects. Having done so, he sat on one side behind the priests who were engaged in listening to the *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya Piṭakas* from the archbishop.

One day the archbishop, while giving instruction to the priests, came across a knotty point in the *Abhidhamma*. Not seeing nor comprehending the meaning of it, he was perplexed, and dismissing the priests, went into his cloister and sat down reflecting on the difficult point.

Just when he went in, Buddhaghosa, aware that the Mahâthera did not comprehend the knotty point, got up from his seat, wrote down the drift and signification of it on the board for resting the back against, and went away to his vessel.

The archbishop again and again considered the meaning of the knotty point, but discovered neither the signification nor the purport. Just, however, on his coming out from his cloister, the writing on the board caught his eyes. On seeing it he asked the monks, "By whom has this been written?"

"It must be by the foreign priest, reverend sir," replied the monks.

"Where has he gone?" asked the archbishop, and then commanded the monks, "Look for him; bring him and present him to me."

The monks, searching for him, saw him, and giving him encouragement, brought him before the archbishop.

The archbishop asked, "Is it true what is said, that this writing is by you?" And when Buddhaghosa replied, "Yes, reverend sir," he added, "Then the assembly of priests has to learn¹ the three *Piṭakas* from you," and made him over to the priesthood.²

Buddhaghosa refused him, saying, "I, reverend sir, have not come to Ceylon from Jambudīpa for instructing in the priesthood,³ but I have come to translate the religion of Buddha from the language of Ceylon and transcribe it in the Māgadha tongue." In these words he announced to him the reason of his coming.

Hearing this, the archbishop was exceedingly pleased, and replied, "If you have come saying you will transcribe the religion in the Māgadha tongue, make a compendium of the three *Piṭakas* from the following stanza uttered by Buddha, the Reverend One, and show it to me:—

"What priest is there ripe in intelligence and energetic, a man of profound wisdom, established in the precepts, and advancing his tranquillity and spiritual insight, who can unravel this knot of corruption?"

Buddhaghosa answered, "Very well," and went to his dwelling-place.

On that day, on account of a favourable asterism during the waxing moon,⁴ Buddhaghosa commenced with the text, "*Sīle pavitṭhāya*," &c. ("*What priest is there*," &c.), and easily wrote the treatise *Visuddhimaggā*. Having finished it, he said to himself, "I shall lay it aside," and went off to sleep.

¹ In *sikkhītabbo* and in *sikkhanatthāya*, a little lower down in the text, we meet the Vedic usage of the root *siksh*, "to teach" instead of "to learn."

² T. has *bhikkhusaṅgham tassa paṭiniyyaddeti*, which is a more reasonable reading.

³ T. has *bhikkhusaṅgham*.

⁴ *Vattamānacchārāya* I took at first to be "in the present moment," "at once," but there is an astrological reference, and the reading must be *vaḍḍhamānacchārāya*, "during the waxing moon," literally "in the increasing radiance."

Sakka, king of the devas, pilfered the *Visuddhimagga* which had been written and put away. The therā, on awakening and not seeing his treatise, very quickly wrote another edition by lamplight.¹ On finishing it, he placed it at his head and fell asleep. Sakka went stealthily off with it. Having slept a little, the therā again arose, but did not see it. It is said that, on the second watch of night setting in, Sakka, king of the devas, stole away the second treatise on the second occasion.

On arising and not seeing it, the therā in hot haste again wrote another edition of the *Visuddhimagga* by lamplight. After finishing it he tied it in his robe and slept. Sakka then deposited the two works he had previously taken away at the head of the therā and departed. Getting up at dawn and seeing the two editions written by him placed at his head, Buddhaghosa became pleased, and, after attending to his bodily ablutions, &c., took the two books, and, together with the one he had tied up in his robe, showed them to the archbishop of Ceylon.

It is said that in each² of the three books there are one million nine hundred and twenty-three thousand letters.

The archbishop, seeing the three, was surprised and asked, "Why are there three books?" On Buddhaghosa telling him the reason, he, being struck with amazement, had the three editions read out. In every place in the three where words were written by Buddhaghosa containing particles or prefixes, they were written down exactly the same, "a," "vi," &c., appearing alike. Seeing

¹ *Divālokena* was a clerical error of the MSS. for *dīpālokena*, "by lamplight." This is in keeping with the context, and T. supports the reading. The same remark applies to the word in the following paragraph of the text: "By daylight," therefore, is a wrong interpretation.

² A gloss reads *Tīsu ganthesu ekekaganthe kira*, &c. *Dasasahasāni* should be *dasasatusahasāni*, and says the letters of the *Visuddhimagga* are incalculable, but the wise have set them down at 1,923,000.

them so, the archbishop, being exceedingly pleased, gave permission to Buddhaghosa, saying, "Put the religion of Buddha, the Revered One, into the language of Mâgadha." And having given permission, he uttered two stanzas in praise of the excellence of his wisdom :—

"He who sees such wisdom, capable of highest analysis and differentiation, and proficient in all states and conditions, he sees one like Buddha himself.

"Mayest thou, replete with knowledge, being our superior, ever take in hand the religion of Buddha the Sage."

After that the therā was known to the people of the island by the name of "Buddhaghosa" ("the Voice of Buddha"). The ancients have therefore said—

"By the name Buddhaghosa he was well known in the whole island; always the most exalted of men, like Buddha on the face of the earth."

Here ends the sixth chapter, giving an account of the permission granted to Buddhaghosa by the resident high priest of Ceylon to copy the Scriptures.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S OBJECT ATTAINED—HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SANSKRIT.

AFTER staying for a while in Ceylon, Buddhaghosa asked the assembly of priests for a suitable place for himself in order to write the Scriptures of Buddha the Sage. The Mahâthera gave him an iron structure to live in. It is said that the building had seven floors. Six of these floors were occupied by Mahâtheras. In what way six? One perfect in the precepts of purity lived in the second floor; one efficient in the *Dhutāṅgas* (the thirteen ascetic practices) in the third; one efficient in the *Suttapīṭaka* in the fourth; one efficient in the *Abhidhamma* in the fifth; one efficient in the *Vinaya* in the sixth; one efficient in *Jhāna* and devoted to the three¹ *Bhāvanās* leading to the *fruits of the four paths* resided in the seventh story. The ground-floor of the building was empty and unoccupied by any priest.

Buddhaghosa dwelt on its solitary under floor. It is said he was efficient in the *Dhutāṅgas* and in the whole of the Scriptures. And while residing there, he day by day wrote in Māgadhi the religion of Buddha, the Revered One, translated from the language of the island.

Afterwards, while going early one day on his begging rounds, he saw some palm-leaves which had fallen off themselves,² and taking them, departed from the village in which he had gone about. It must be known that this was his practice.

¹ *Tilakkhanabhāvanā* refers to the *kāya*, *citta*, and *paññā bhāvanās*.

² T. *vā chadḍitatālapaṇṇam vā*, or "palm-leaves thrown away."

One day a toddy-seller, learned, wise, and meritorious, noticing his procedure, scattered a number of palm-leaves, holeless and unbroken, in the place where he used to get his food in his bowl and concealed himself. The therā, after receiving food in his bowl, carried them off.

The toddy-seller followed him, saw the writing work on which he was engaged, and being pleased, took a basket of rice one day¹ and offered it to the therā, who addressed him as follows: "O devotee, the one who is stationed in the floor above mine is my superior; give the food to him."

Being thus commanded by the therā, he took the rice basket and gave it to the Mahātherā who remained on the upper floor.

In this manner the one basket of rice reached the reverend monk who resided on the seventh floor.

The monk residing on the seventh floor said to the toddy-seller, "Buddhaghosa on the lowest floor is of greater excellence than us; day by day he writes² the Scriptures of Buddha; give it to him."

On hearing this, the toddy-seller took the basket of rice, came down from the seventh story, and presented it again to Buddhaghosa.

"Well, well!" responded Buddhaghosa, and then divided the rice into six shares and made the toddy-seller give them to the six theras. This was his practice.

Buddhaghosa concluded the writing of the Scriptures in three months. After keeping Lent and celebrating *pāvaranā*, he made them over to the archbishop.

The archbishop said, "Good! good!" in commendation of Buddhaghosa and recited two stanzas setting forth his excellence—

"The religion, the word of the most excellent Buddha, is difficult of acquirement; by virtue of your translation we discern it easily.

¹ T. has *ekadivāsamhi*.

² *Likhi*; *tasseva* should be *likhantasseva*.

“Even as a blind man sees not equalities and inequalities on the ground, so we see not the religion as declared by Buddha.”

Buddhaghosa, after that, had the works written by the therā Mahinda put into a heap in a sacred place near the Great Pagoda and set on fire. It is said that all the books written by the therā in the Sinhalese language were equal in height to seven elephants of middle size. The ancients say so, and it has been heard¹ by us as their declaration.

After setting fire to all the works compiled in Sinhalese, Buddhaghosa took leave of the assembly of priests with the object of seeing his parents, and saying, “I, reverend sirs, wish to go to Jambudīpa,” prepared to embark along with the merchants.

Just when he was on the point of doing so, some resident priests of Ceylon spoke disparagingly of his proficiency in Sanskrit, remarking, “This therā, we imagine, knows only the religion of Buddha comprised in the Three *Piṭakas*; he knows no Sanskrit.”

Hearing this disparaging conversation of theirs, Buddhaghosa’s friends, the merchants, told him of it.

The therā, when he heard this, said, “Very well, very well!” and informed the resident archbishop of Ceylon, saying, “To-morrow, reverend sir, the Sabbath-day of the full moon, I shall discourse in Sanskrit; let the fourfold assembly be congregated in the yard of the Great Shrine.”²

¹ The reading in T. is *sutabhūtaṃ* for *sutam*.

² T. reads “catuparisā mahācetiyaṣṣa samīpe sannipatitā hotu.” By a reference in T. it appears that by *mahāceti* the great shrine erected B.C. 157, by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, is intended. For an account of its construction vide *Mahāvamsa*, chapters xxviii. to xxx. The *Lohapāsāda*, in which Buddhaghosa is represented as having written the Scriptures, was the one erected by Saddhātissa, the brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. *Mahāvamsa*, chap. xxxiii. says:—

“Dīpe na lohapāsādo sodhayittha sussaṅkhatō;
Kāresi lohapāsādāṃ so sattiabbhūmakāṃ puna;
Navutisatasabassagho pāsādo āsi so tadā.”

“The Lohapāsāda (of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi) did not hold together in good

Early in the morning, he ascended the pulpit for the purpose of displaying his knowledge of Sanskrit in the midst of the assembly, and standing therein gave forth these stanzas in Sanskrit: ¹—

“Subsisting as a porter, a cowherd, a water-drawer, or by serving the learned is excellent. I beg you to let me hold up my hands in adoration; let not the three worlds by the seven offences ² disgustingly besmear the conchshell-like religion of the adorable one, the son of Suddhodana—a religion worthy to be revered by the head; besmear yourselves with virtue that is like sandal-wood; otherwise destroying yourselves, death is preferable.”

It is said that the quadruple extraordinary ³ wonders occurred in the case of Buddhaghosa. Which four?

(1.) If the assemblies of priests came for the purpose of seeing Buddhaghosa, they were gladdened by sight of him; (2.) if he discoursed among them on religion, they were delighted with what he said; (3.) when he remained silent, the assembly of priests were discontented; (4.) if the assembly of nuns, of male devotees, and of female devotees came to see Buddhaghosa, they were delighted by seeing him; and if he discoursed on the law among them, they were also delighted with what he said; but they were dissatisfied if Buddhaghosa remained silent: these are the four extraordinary, unexpected incidents

order; he (Saddhātissa) rebuilt it as a seven-storied structure; the structure was then worth nine millions.”

¹ T. says “Sakkaṭaganthena missitvā imā gāthāyo abhāsi,” he uttered these stanzas mixed with Sanskrit. We can scarcely take this assurance seriously, but do not wonder that it was made, considering the heterogeneous conglomeration of Sanskrit and Pali words in the corrupt text of the Burmese manuscripts.

² The seven kinds of offences are: — *Pārājika*, *saṅghādisiia*, *pācīta*, *thālacaya*, *dukkata*, *dubbhāsita*, and *pāṭidesani*. Buddhaghosa, no doubt, spoke in particular reference to *dubbhāsita* offences.

³ The reading *abhātadhamma*, “what is not to be,” “what is impossible,” hence “extraordinary,” occurs in T. and elsewhere.

which occurred in Buddhaghosa's case, just as it happened in that of Ânanda. And therefore, even while he was discoursing, the four assemblies removed their raiments, pearl necklaces, and bangles,¹ and spread them at the feet of the therā by way of offering. The raiments, &c., given as offerings were in height, it is said, equal to seven elephants of medium size.

Buddhaghosa, having no desire for them, descended from the pulpit, saluted the assembly, took leave of the aged senior priest, and, embarking with the merchants, was bound for Jambudîpa. On his departure, people, beggars, mendicants, rahans, Puññas, and others, took at pleasure the things that had been offered to the therā and went away.

Here ends chapter seventh, describing the
religious discourse by which Buddha-
ghosa displayed his knowledge
of Sanskrit.

¹ "Vejuriya" of *vatthaceḷamuttahāravejuriyādāni*, is rightly given by T. as *valaya*, "a bangle," and the whole expression as *vatthādāni muttahāravalayādāni*.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

RETURN TO INDIA.

HAVING displayed his knowledge of Sanskrit, Buddhaghosa was bound for Jambudîpa, and while proceeding in mid-ocean, he recited two stanzas for the purpose of conveying¹ instruction to the merchants :—

“ Just as we, depending on the vessel, traverse the ocean, and the vessel, depending on us, will reach harbour ; so, depending on wisdom and on good deeds, which convey us comfortably to bliss, we are set down² on the shore of heaven.”

On reaching port, Buddhaghosa took leave of his friends the merchants, and, with his bowl and robes, went into the presence of his preceptor. He apprised him of the transcript he had made of Buddha's religion, known as “ Pariyatti.” Thereupon, having absolved himself from the penalty imposed by the preceptor and wiped off his offence, he saluted him, and, taking leave of him, proceeded to his parents.

The parents, on seeing their son, saluted him, entertained him with luxurious food, forgave him his offence,

¹ T. gives *anusāsento* for *anusāsanto*.

² T. gives *patitthāma* for *patitthāya*, and it is a good reading. The two stanzas may be freely translated as follows :—

“ Men take to ships for distant lands
The briny sea to cross ;
If sailors none, no port they find,
But on the billows toss.

“ If to Nirvāṇa's blissful shore
Our way we wish to take,
By Wisdom's ship with Virtues mann'd,
'The voyage safe we make.”

and, when they knew that they were to die, they, on the approach of death, called to mind the excellence of Buddha, were born in the Tusita city, and dwell in a golden mansion. Some of the Brahmans, their attendants and slaves, being established in the admonitions of the therā Buddhaghosa, died and were born in the Devaloka; some passed away according to their deeds.

The therā, for the purpose of expressing his reverence for the Three Gems and displaying his delight in the good men in them, and, as if it was being declared "reverence to such an extent must be shown for the Three Gems," he, with a view to set forth their true nature, said—

"The Revered One of pure lineage, he indeed is called Buddha; the Law, leading to bliss, preached by the Revered One, is the ninefold transcendental law."

As to the *Piṭakas* there are three—the *Vinaya*, the *Sutta*, and the *Abhidhamma*; of the *Nikāyas* five—the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima*, the *Saṃyutta*, the *Aṅguttara*, and the *Khuddaka*; of *Angas* nine—*Sutta*, *Geyya*, *Gāthā*, *Veyyākaraṇa*, *Uddāna*, *Ittivuttaka*, *Jātaka*, *Abbhāta-dhamma*, and *Vedalla*; of *Dhammakhandas* eighty-four thousand; in the *Abhidhamma* forty-two thousand; in the *Vinaya* twenty-one thousand;¹ in the *Suttanta* twenty-one thousand. There are four assemblies; also four bodies established in the *Paths* and four established in the *Fruitions*, making up the sum of eight *Ariyas*.

Having thus indicated the true nature of the Three Gems, he uttered this stanza, testifying to his reverence for them:—

"By holding up my hand even once in adoration of Buddha, his Law, and the priesthood, I am able completely to extinguish the fire of the pains of existence."

At the close of his words of reverence for the Three

¹ *Dvādaśasahasāni* should be *dve dasasahasāni*. Vide Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 166–172, on the names and divisions of the *Tripiṭaka*.

Gems he uttered these following stanzas, setting forth the deeds of those practising deceit to maintain existence—those who in religious discipline are remiss—who are wicked and perform acts tending to the disparagement of the religion of the Revered One:—

“As indeed base-born foxes eat not the flesh of the lion, king and chief of beasts, but worms produced in his body, being desirous to eat his flesh, eat it—not other beasts; so not heretics, though possessed of supernatural power, disparage the excellent Law of the Lion of the Sakyas, who attained to Nirvāṇa in the Buddhist faith; but verily these wicked priests, smooth-shaven and wearing their patched-up apparel, it is they who disparage the excellent law pointed out by the Omniscient One.”¹

After thus showing the procedure of evil priests, performing acts for the disparagement of the religion of the Revered One, Buddhaghosa, for the object of pointing out to all creatures the practice of respiration and inspiration night and day, uttered this stanza—

“By day a hundred thousand and eight hundred respirations and inspirations, and during the night the same number take place.”

After pointing out this, he, being seated on his death-bed considering how long life² would hold out in him,

¹ The following is a metrical version:—

“Not base-born foxes eat the flesh
Of lion great and strong;
Such feast is for the creeping worms
That to his skin belong.

“Not heretics with wondrous powers
The Word of him revile—
The Lion of the Sakya race,
To Nirvāṇa gone the while.

“But shaven priests with patched-up robes,
Who in the fold exist,
From evil speech against his Word
Cannot, alas! resist.”

² T. reads *nisinno attano āyusañkhāraṇaṃ vicārento*.

ascertained it would be brief, and paying his respects to his preceptor and taking leave of him, he proceeded to the great Bodhi Tree, performed all ceremonial worship at its foot, and recited two stanzas in praise of it:—

“Buddha, the Enlightened One, possessed of two excellent feet, attained to perfect knowledge, crushing the army of Māra, by dependence on the Bodhi Tree.

“He who shows respect to the Bodhi Tree and in worship is greatly reverential,¹ he, as it were, worships Buddha himself and is free from all suffering.”

He praised the tree thus, and knowing the exact time of his death, he said to himself, “Death is of three kinds, *samuccheda*, *khaṇika*, and *sammuti*; of these, *samuccheda* is the death of one without taint; *khaṇika* is the momentary cessation of thought productions; *sammuti* is the ordinary death of all sentient beings; and,” continued he, “of these, I am to die the common death.”

Having thought so, he, on the day of his death, bringing to mind the precepts for him to observe, together with the excellence of Buddha, expired, was reborn in the Tusita city, and now dwells in a golden mansion, twelve leagues in extent, attended by a thousand celestial nymphs.

When Metteyya as Bodhisat will here, in this world, attain perfect enlightenment, Buddhaghosa will become his disciple, the chief and most exalted, by virtue of his knowledge, surmounting all impediments in the laws of Metteyya, the Revered One (Bhagavā). Seven times will he be set up by him in this place of pre-eminence as head disciple, Metteyya saying, “Of all my disciples, of all efficient in the *Vinaya*, of all of comprehensive knowledge, of all in whom knowledge is consummated, of those proficient in knowledge, Buddhaghosa is chief.”

When the thera Buddhaghosa died, in order to burn his corpse, Rahans, Puṇṇas, all the gods and men, made a funeral pile with sandal-wood, and, putting upon it the

¹ T. has *atipājayi* for *abhipājayi* and *pamuṇcato* for *pamuṇcaso*.

bejewelled oblations,¹ placed the corpse together with its golden couch on the sandal-wood pile, and set fire to it with due respect. When his body had been cremated, men, Brahmans, and others took relics, and burying them in holy spots in the vicinity of the great Bodhi Tree, erected pagodas over them. All the people took delight in the excellence of the therā, and on their death, through virtue of their veneration of him, were reborn in Deva worlds, and, according to their deeds, are in the enjoyment of celestial glories.

After the time of the therā dwelling in the Tusita city, former teachers, on account of ignorant people praising themselves and imagining themselves wise, saying, "We are wise," have given expression to three stanzas in reprehension of them—

"On the death of Buddhaghosa, many, ignorant and foolish, over and over imagine '*We are wise.*'"

"But while Buddhaghosa lived, even the wise possess not the radiance of wisdom, just as the moon in the jaws of Rāhu.

"Therefore, should a wise man abandon the praise of self, saying, '*I am wise,*' holding himself under control, he loses not happiness."

Here ends the eighth chapter, giving an account of
the therā Buddhaghosa, replete in wisdom,
penetration, quick-wit and humour,
edited by the therā Mahāman-
gala, by his own wisdom,
from the writings of
ancient teachers.

¹ T. reads *aggiyāni* in the signification of "things used as fuel," "faggots."